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## GREEK MANUSCRIPTS IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE RENAISSANCE

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H I S paper will of necessity be a repository of a number of scattered facts without much of a thread to connect them together. They will be like the pieces of a puzzle that has been spilt out of its box in transit and dropped about over a considerable length of road. I have been over

the ground a good many times and picked up a good many pieces, but any one with a younger and sharper eye and more facilities for getting about is sure to light on a good many more, though it is doubtful whether the whole picture can ever be recovered now. Even if it was whole it would reveal only a corner of a very large subject which very much needs, which is crying out for, an adequate historian, namely the story of Greek Learning in Western Europe from 500 to 1500.

I am concerned with England and with England only: the whole question of Greek in Ireland must remain untouched, fascinating as it is. And I cannot devote any large proportion of my space to the earliest of the centuries which come under consideration.

My object is chiefly to collect notices of books actually extant which bear traces of having been used in this country before the sixteenth century. But this must not exclude such

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Read before the Bibliographical Society, 15 November 1926.

things as notices of Greek books in the catalogues of monastic libraries or scraps of Greek written in medieval times on fly-leaves. Nor, though I think I must here be careful to avoid detail, can one quite leave out of account the matter of versions made from Greek which have some special connexion with this country. In short, there must be a literary as well as a bibliographical side to the investigation, but the literary side must

be subordinated to the other.

It has been something of a temptation to stray a little over the edge of 1500 and take in Linacre, Grocyn, Claymond, Warham, Pole, Clement, Tunstall—John Clement in particular, who seems undoubtedly to have owned the unique manuscript of the Palatine Anthology; or again to dwell on the importation of the new Latin versions of Greek classics by Bp. William Grey of Ely, whose books are at Balliol, by Duke Humphrey, Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, John Gunthorpe Dean of Wells, and a number of others, whose names will occur to you. But I think you will agree that the line had to be drawn firmly, and probably you will say that in fact I have not drawn it firmly enough when I come to speak of the books that lie on the border line. My excuse is that I wanted to get certain facts on record.

I suppose that what Bede tells us of the existence of Greek scholarship in England in the seventh century, introduced by Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian, may be taken as common knowledge. And further that the existence of one tangible monument of that learning, in the shape of the Graeco-Latin copy of the Acts of the Apostles among Laud's manuscripts at Oxford, is quite generally known. In the Bodleian Quarterly Record the probable fortunes of that manuscript were ably dealt with, and it was shown that the book had travelled to Germany at an early date and come back to England in the seventeenth century. This particular book, it will be remembered, was at one time in Bede's hands.

The Bodleian also preserves a unique relic of the Greek

learning of the *British* church in the *Liber Commonei* bound up with other venerable books in Auct. F. 4. 32, and described by Henry Bradshaw as 'the patriarch of all Welsh books known'. In it are passages of Deuteronomy and the Prophets in Greek and Latin, the Greek being sometimes in Roman characters, sometimes in Greek. The date attributed to it now is about 820. Not for the first time I venture to record a prayer that the whole of this book should be reproduced in facsimile.

Harking back a little from this date of 820, I must observe that there is evidence of the presence of a copy of the Topographia Christiana of Cosmas Indicopleustes in this country: in the eighth century Koaena (Archbishop of York, 767-81), writing to Lullus of Mainz, speaks of certain 'libri cosmografiorum'—of which he has no copy save such as are 'picturis et litteris permolesta', so that he could not procure transcribers. This points to something foreign and unusual, and when I find in two manuscripts of English origin Latin versions of paragraphs of Cosmas, I am tempted to link up the indications and say that Koaena's book was a Cosmas. I ought to say that Dr. Poole favours the idea that the book of cosmography was a copy of the Notitia Dignitatum; but even if that is so, the fact remains that there are these Latin bits of Cosmas in English manuscripts, one as old as 930.

How long the Theodorian school of Greek lasted in England is an unsolved problem. But it cannot have been long. The Danish raids must have swept away the Northern scholars, and it is difficult to trace anything surviving in the South. There may have been waifs and strays of books. I have a strong impression that the copiously illustrated Anglo-Saxon Hexateuch (Claud MS. B. iv) owes a good deal to a Greek illustrated manuscript, and we know that that book was in the library of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and most likely was produced there. Canterbury, it will be allowed, was as likely a home for

a Greek Bible as any place in England.

We may suppose some importation of Greek books to have taken place in the times of Athelstan when there was so lively a commerce between Eastern and Western Courts; but it is no more than a supposition, so far as I know. We are also startled at the appearance in the Latin charters of the period of Greek words—basileus, poliarchus, and many more. These are borrowings from glossaries, like the Greek words which stud the works of Aldhelm, the Hisperica Famina, the Lorica of Gildas, and the cognate poems. Greek letters are frequently employed in colophons to transliterate Latin words, e.g. ΦΙΝΙΘ ΔΕω **FRAGYAS.** More significant is the occurrence in the Athelstan Psalter (Galba A. xviii) of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, Trisagion, and Litany of Saints in Greek, written in Latin letters, and similarly in the Winchester Troper (No. 473 at Corpus Christi, Cambridge) of a Greek hymn χαίρε ή πύλη with Latin gloss. The Greek Litany also occurs in Titus D. xviii. Edmund Bishop, who writes at length upon it in Liturgica Historica, is of opinion that the Athelstan copy was made from a seventh- or eighthcentury English manuscript, probably at Winchester, and was brought from Rome at the end of the seventh century, under the influence of the Greek Pope Sergius. Ethelwold of Winchester, I must add, who died in 984, bequeathed to Peterborough Abbey a book de litteris grecorum, which may have been a grammar, or may conceivably mean a book written in Greek letters. But these can hardly be called Greek manuscripts. I cite them in the interest of a completeness which I shall not attain.

Also I am conscious that I am approaching a great gap in the succession. The eleventh and twelfth centuries seem to me at this moment very blank; grateful indeed should I be to any one who could tell me of writers who used Greek books then. Certain versions from Greek were newly made in the twelfth century, but, alas, not by us; though it is an English writer, Herbert de Bosham, who gets an abbot of St. Denis to translate

for him a set of  $i\pi o\theta \epsilon \sigma \epsilon \iota s$  to the Pauline Epistles. It was a St. Denis scholar who made a version of the dialogue of Secundus the Philosopher which had a great vogue in England. I have wondered whether it was he or an Englishman who also rendered into Latin the History of Asenath, the wife of Joseph—which I now believe to have been so rendered in the twelfth century, and not by Grosseteste; all the manuscripts of the full version (not the abridgement which we find in Vincent of Beauvais) are of English origin.

But I must really approach the period which has left us tangible monuments; the period of Grosseteste. We know that Grosseteste made, or procured to be made, Latin versions

of several important Greek texts.

a. The Epistles of Ignatius in the best, the uninterpolated text. His version survives in but one medieval copy, at Caius College, a fifteenth-century book. Another which was

used in the seventeenth century is untraceable.

b. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. We have the actual Greek copy which Grosseteste used in the University Library at Cambridge, Ff. 1. 24, a very fine book of the tenth century, containing, besides the Testaments, the two books of Chronicles, and the Hypomnesticon of Joseph. Undoubted traces of Western use are seen in it, in the shape of Latin headlines in a thirteenth-century hand and some few notes. It is by such indications as these that one fixes the presence of the Greek books in England in medieval times: they are unmistakable.

c. Suidas. Grosseteste seems to have made a version of some seventy historical articles from the Lexicon of Suidas. One, the article on Jesus Christ, had a very wide circulation; there are copies of a few of the others, notably in the Royal MS. B. iv and Digby 11, as well as in a comment of Grosseteste's on Aristotle. The Royal MS., which belonged to Bury, was copied from one at King's Lynn. A note says: 'There is no

more at Lynn, but the rest is at Oxford, and the whole does

not amount to as much as a psalter.'

For details I must refer you to Valentin Rose's article in the fifth volume of Hermes, but as to the copy of Suidas from which Grosseteste drew there is more to be said. The Harley MS. 3100 is a Suidas formerly at Durham, given to the Earl of Oxford by the Dean and Chapter. Of it Wanley says in his Diary (3 June 1723) that he knows it to be written by the same hand as wrote the Greek Testament which is in the Library at Leicester: that is of Joannes Serbopoulos of Constantinople who copied books for Archbishop Warham, Bishop Fox, &c., in Reading and other places, 'many of whose books are still preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College in Oxford'. Wanley was right (as he usually is) in identifying the hand of the Suidas with that of the Leicester New Testament, but wrong in naming the scribe John Serbopoulos. Let that pass for the moment, and turn to another manuscript of Suidas at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (Nos. 76, 77). The first volume of this and part of the second is in the Leicester Codex hand: the remainder really is in the hand of John Serbopoulos.

Thus there are in England two copies of Suidas written in this country. Now, Bidez, writing on the manuscript tradition of Suidas in the Sitzungsberichte of the Berlin Academy for 1912, tells us that both these copies derive from one archetype, namely the Vossianus f. 2 at Leyden, which is of the twelfth century. Voss's English connexions are well known: he was a canon of Windsor. And I have no doubt whatever that the Leyden Suidas, which was so evidently in England in the fifteenth century, is Grosseteste's copy. I have never seen the book, but the librarian, Dr. de Vries, has informed me that there are no Latin notes in it—no marginalia in English hands. Still, I should confidently expect to find at least some notes in Grosseteste's Greek hand, which is well known. More about

Suidas anon.

Grosseteste's Commentary on the Psalms, of which we have one of the few manuscripts at Eton, I have examined from the point of view of his sources. There are frequent citations in it of Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, and other Greek Fathers, then untranslated. These, in my opinion, show that he used a Greek catena on the Psalms. Grosseteste's other versions from Greek—of Dionysius the Areopagite, of books of Aristotle, of John Damascene, of a piece of Dionysian matter and comment in one of his letters, need not detain me. I will pass to the question of the extant manuscripts which can be traced to his ownership. His books he bequeathed to the Franciscans of Oxford, who, to judge from Leland's account of their library, took no great care of them. Yet two have survived (besides those I have named).

A Psalter at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 480, contains a number of transliterations and other marginalia in Grosseteste's hand, and in other hands of his time or a little later. In the MS. Ff. 1. 24, already mentioned, there is a note referring to the 'paruum psalterium grecum', which I take to be this psalter. A connexion with Oxford is there, too: it belonged to John Farley, who in the late fifteenth century was

an official scribe of the University.

A gospel book at Caius College (no. 403) actually has the inscription of the Oxford Franciscans in it. Here, too, are Latin head-lines and chapter numbers of Grosseteste's time. Late in the fifteenth century the book was lent by the friars to Richard Brinkley, Provincial of the Franciscans, whom we

shall meet again.

And now we must extend our purview a little and include the scholars of Grosseteste's entourage, men who were induced by him (as Roger Bacon says) to come from Greece, or Englishmen who studied Greek under his auspices. I shall not repeat here all the references to John of Basingstoke and Nicholas the Greek, parson of Datchet, which are found in Matthew Paris's history and other places, but will leave the men to emerge, if

they will, as we go on.

The most important of all the books which we can connect with them seems to me to be the Greek-Latin Lexicon preserved at the College of Arms of which I have given an elaborate account in the Mélanges Chatelain. This book, which calls itself a Parcioniarium Grecum, I believe to have been (a) written in England, (b) compiled by a native of South Italy late in the thirteenth century. The author had access to a certain number of Greek books. Suidas is quoted hundreds of times, and the readings, where I can test them, agree with those of the copy I assign to Grosseteste. There are references to certain books of the Greek Old Testament. A grammar whose system of declensions and conjugations agrees with that of Theodosius has been used, and one or more Greek Lexicons besides that of Suidas. The fragmentary Lexicon Seguierianum shows many agreements, and it may be that that of Photius was also drawn upon. The book differs from the Lexicons made by Greeks in that it really is a vocabulary for the use of learners and includes all the common words. Twice the authority of a magister Nicholaus is adduced, and it is my belief that here Nicholas the Greek is meant, and that he furnished the information orally. The copious use of Suidas is to me evidence of a connexion with the Grosseteste circle. Not less than 16,000 words, according to my estimate, are contained in this Lexicon, which is an outstanding monument of the study of Greek in England.

Where did our compiler see a Greek Bible? The books he quotes are Deuteronomy, Job, Psalms, Ecclesiasticus. Greek Psalters were probably more numerous than any other Greek books in England. We have seen Grosseteste's. We find that at Christ Church, Canterbury, Leland saw a Psalterium grece, that there was one in Greek and Latin at St. Augustine's Abbey (No. 92), and another in the fourteenth century

at the Austin Friars of York—one of John Erghom's books—

Psalterium in greco, Cantica prophetarum in greco.

Emmanuel College possesses a fragment of one of the eleventh or twelfth century in a strange laboured script with Latin-Greek marks and glosses, and annotations in the hand, as I think, of Richard Brinkley. Trinity has one of the thirteenth century which has certainly been long in England, for in the fifteenth century a boy has written in it 'Ego sum bonus' (part of the common formula 'Ego sum bonus puer quem

deus amat '). We shall encounter later ones.

For the other Biblical books we have the Christ Church, Canterbury Octateuch, now Canonici 35 in the Bodleian, and Leland's note that he saw at Christ Church, Job, Solomon, Esaias, Hieremias Graece. One of these may have been the liber grecorum which occurs in a list of books repaired at Christ Church in 1508. There is also at University College, Oxford, an Octateuch of 1126 (No. 52), which is rich in Latin scribbles of medieval date, and merits more attention from this point of view than I have been able to give it. Greek grammars I know none. The Christ Church Catalogue of the twelfth century mentions a Donatus Grece. Another Greek Donatus is attributed to John of Basingstoke. And of course Roger Bacon must have had one before him when he compiled his own Greek Grammar, and one differing from that of the Lexicon, for his system of declensions, &c., is simpler. It is difficult, by the way, to show that Bacon cites any Greek books besides this grammar. Access to Grosseteste's bequest to Oxford he surely must have had, but has it left any trace on his writings? I have not detected such a thing.

With some hesitation I advance the suggestion (in connexion with Lexicons and Grammars) that the Gale MS. of the Lexicon of Photius, so well known from Porson's edition, has been in England since medieval times. It is true that I do not find medieval Latin notes in it, but it has been mended with pieces of a fourteenth-century Latin Psalter in an English hand; and had it been an importation of the seventeenth

century or later, this would hardly have happened.

But we will pass to less doubtful instances. A beautiful little manuscript (tenth to eleventh century) of the Epistles at Emmanuel College has a couple of thirteenth-century notes in Latin pencilled on its margin. The rather famous manuscript of the *Hippiatrica* there has been mended, like the Photius, with bits of Latin manuscripts seemingly of the twelfth century.

Now come two interesting volumes of another kind. A fine manuscript of the *Parva Naturalia* of Aristotle at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (108), has on its last page a table of contents in Latin in a thirteenth-century English hand. Similarly the Cambridge University Library MS. Ii. 5. 44 of the *Ethics* written in 1279 has marginalia of near that date in

Latin. This I do think a noteworthy phenomenon.

A copy of Basil on Isaiah (tenth century), given by Savile to the Bodleian and now Auct. E. 2. 12, has the Latin chapters marked, and I had thought that possibly we might here have another of Grosseteste's books; yet the numerals, though medieval, do not seem quite old enough. Another Basil on Isaiah (eleventh century), Auct. E. 2. 9, has a note of 1509. If it was a Renaissance importation it came very early.

Two other books in the Cambridge University Library may come in here. Dd. 2. 22, works of Maximus Confessor with a medieval Latin title and fly-leaves from Latin manuscripts, and Ff. 1. 30, a catena on the Pauline Epistles with Latin headlines, and mended with a patch from a Latin manuscript; also

with Latin fly-leaves.

I have mentioned the few entries of Greek books in the catalogues of monastic libraries—all, in fact, that are known to me, with one exception. Ramsey Abbey owned two Greek psalters, and we have one of them still, No. 468 at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. I did not include it among the

other Greek psalters I spoke of just now. It differs from them in being written in Latin characters. It has also the Latin

version in parallel columns.

This book contains two extraneous pieces which make its appearance at this point relevant. One is a note which must be derived from a Greek grammar, of Greek prepositions and their meanings. The other is a copy of that curious set of numerals on which Dr. Greg recently wrote in our Transactions: those which Matthew Paris tells us were brought from Greece by John of Basingstoke. This copy avoids the mistakes pointed out by Dr. Greg in Paris's version of them. Their presence here serves to link up the book with Grosseteste's circle. The owner and possibly writer of it was Gregory of Huntingdon, Prior of Ramsey, who flourished about 1250, and is otherwise notable on account of his fondness for Hebrew study. I need only add that the transliteration of the Greek is just the usual rendering of the pre-Erasmian pronunciation.

Another monastic book of this period is the Laud MS. Gr. 28, which is a twelfth-century copy of the Liturgy of St. Basil and belonged to the Abbey of Darley in Derbyshire. It was lent in 1452 to Robert Flemmyng, Dean of Lincoln, kinsman of Richard Flemmyng, the founder of Lincoln College, Oxford. I did not detect in it any traces of use by Latin scholars: nor is there anything to show how it got to Darley Abbey.

In one or two cases one may find scraps of Greek liturgical matter transcribed or transliterated on the fly-leaves of manuscripts. Thus in the Royal Ms. 12 F. xvii there is the alphabet, Creed, Gloria in Excelsis in Latin and Greek, of the fourteenth century. The provenance of this book is not known. But another, G. 1, No. 169, at St. John's College, Cambridge, came from the Franciscans of Hereford, and contains the Lord's Prayer, Gloria in Excelsis, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, and Beatitudes, in what may be a thirteenth-century hand.

It is not surprising when one remembers the connexion of Grosseteste with the Franciscans, and recalls the name of Roger Bacon, to find such matter in a Franciscan manuscript. Were my subject the study of Hebrew in this country in the thirteenth century I should have a good deal to say about the Franciscans. As it is I do not think I can find much more to say of them, for I really dare not trespass far into the subject -only partly investigated as yet-of the medieval Correctoria of the Latin Vulgate. We know that Bacon abuses the Dominican Correctorium as being a complex of the same text; we know also that there was a Correctorium which he approved, probably the work of Adam de Mara. And undoubtedly Greek manuscripts were consulted for the purpose of the correctors, but I suspect these manuscripts were not in England. Very occasionally the Correctoria have left traces in English-written Bibles, as in a fine one from Gisburne Priory at St. John's College, Cambridge.

I cannot avoid a note on the use in England of the translations from the Greek that were made in Sicily, some perhaps by Englishmen, in the time of King Roger. The whole subject has been treated by Professor Haskins in his volume of Essays called *Mediaeval Science*. But it is of particular interest to us to notice that there is at Corpus Christi, Oxford, a manuscript of the version of Plato's *Phaedo* and *Meno*, written at Oxford in 1423 by a Dutch scribe, which belonged to Duke Humphrey, and later to Dr. Dee, and that Walter Burley, who died in 1337, is (as I believe) the one author who (in his book *De vita et moribus philosophorum*) makes use of the Sicilian version of Diogenes Laertius, apparently never finished and

not now known to exist.

The remaining books of which I have to speak are all associated with the latter part of the fifteenth century and the scholars of the early years of the sixteenth.

William Botoner or Wyrcester is a character who deserves

a good deal more investigation. We want a new edition of his Itinerary; we want descriptions of all the books he owned. We know him as an antiquary and annalist: we are less familiar with him in the character of a humanist. Yet he possessed Cristoforo Buondelmonte's book on the Greek islands, and he owned at least one Greek MS. This is in the Bodleian, Auct. F. 3. 25. It is a paper volume of the fourteenth century in several very pretty hands, and it contains plays of Sophocles and Euripides and parts of Theocritus, Hesiod, and Pindar, and it bears the inscription: Iste liber pertinet magistro Johanni ffree, ffree de Bristollia natus qui obiit in ciuitate Romana: postea deueniebat ad manus Willelmi Wyrcestre olim de Bristollia mediantibus pecuniis auxilio domini Johannis ffastolf militis, cui deum precipimus testem. This is the first Greek poetry book we have come across: whether William Wyrcester could read it there is no knowing. He has made no annotations in it.

It may perhaps be remembered that MS. 124 at Balliol College is a copy of John Free's Cosmography and his version of six books of Diodorus Siculus (if it is his and not Poggio's) which also came to William Wyrcester through the generosity

of the same Sir John Fastolf.

Let me deal shortly with the two other Greek poetry books I know of. A Euripides at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (403), of the fifteenth century, claims a place because Archbishop Parker writes in it that it belonged to Theodore of Canterbury, which, if it means nothing else, indicates that Parker acquired it under conditions which made that absurdity plausible to him; in other words, he most likely got hold of it at Canterbury.

The same has to be said of his Homer, No. 81 in the same library, which seems to have been the starting-point of all his Theodorian attributions. It is a fifteenth-century manuscript, but it has the name *Theodoros* in gold letters within a laurel wreath at the bottom of its first leaf. Very probably, as the good

Wanley guessed, Theodore Gaza was meant—who died in 1478. But Parker has no doubt about the matter, and writes biographical notices of Archbishop Theodore on the fly-leaf, and we are informed that the book was found at St. Augustine's, Canterbury.

It is not beyond belief that this Homer was written by the scribe of the Leicester Codex: later on I propose to say some-

what more of him.

Parker's Theodorian attributions, absurd as they are, may yet serve as indications that the manuscripts in which they are found were not recent importations from the Continent in his time. The books so honoured by him are—

At Corpus Christi, the Homer P. 1, the Euripides 403, Grosseteste's Psalter 480, a Cicero of the fifteenth century,

and an Arabic MS.

At Trinity, B. 10. 11, a Psalter of fourteenth or fifteenth century: a slip of thirteenth-century Latin writing in this he dignifies with the label 'Manus Latina Theodori Archiepiscopi'.

At the University Library, Ff. 1. 24, a Grosseteste MS., as

we have seen.

Ff. 1. 26. Euthymius on the Psalms, a fifteenthcentury paper MS.

Ii. 3. 25. A fourteenth-century Chrysostom given to

Parker by the Dean of Rochester.

I have now dealt with nearly all the Greek MSS. that concern me in Cambridge libraries, but I cannot leave them without a mention of one which is not a Greek book, but which marks an epoch in the history of English studies. The MS. Mm. 3. 4 in the University Library is a literal Latin prose translation of the Odyssey. It was owned by John Gunthorpe, Dean of Wells, who bought it in 1475 for one mark in Westminster. Date, place, and book are all, I think, notable. The book is, of course, in a foreign hand.

I now turn to the manuscripts at Oxford. We have seen that Robert Flemmyng, Dean of Lincoln, borrowed a Greek MS. from Darley Abbey in 1452. He, then, was an early humanist, and of wide interests, as a look at the character of the manuscripts he gave to Lincoln College will show. Cicero, Aulus Gellius, Boccaccio, Pliny, are there with others, and one is a copy (twelfth century) of the Acts and Epistles in Greek. It does not contain any Latin annotations. Leland tells us that he saw at Oxford a Graeco-Latin dictionary compiled by this Flemmyng, but it is not now known to exist. Lincoln College has also a Greek Gospels (Gr. 18), which belonged to Edmund Audley, Bishop of Sarum. Bishop Audley also owned a Latin Strabo, No. 114 in the same library.

Corpus Christi, so eminently a humanist foundation, has been mentioned already. It shall now serve to introduce the last important groups of manuscripts, the work of two scribes of the latter part of the fifteenth century, Emmanuel of Constantinople, the writer of the Leicester New Testament, and John Serbopoulos. Emmanuel comes first in time. He was one of the scribes employed by George Nevile, Archbishop of York, as I learnt a long time ago from a Leyden MS. of Demosthenes (Voss Gr. 56) which he wrote in December 1468. He now has the following rather impressive list of manuscripts

to his credit:

The Leicester New Testament. 69 of the Gospels.

The Leyden Demosthenes. Voss Gr. 56.

A Plato at Durham. C. iv. 2.

An Aristotle at Durham. C. 1. 15.

Harley 3100 Suidas, formerly at Durham.

A Psalter at Caius College. 348, bound at the Grey Friars House at Cambridge. This was, like the Caius Gospels and Emmanuel Psalter, at one time in the hands of Richard Brinkley. A Psalter at Trinity College, Cambridge. O. 3. 14. Once in the Old Royal Library, No. 1255.

A Psalter at Corpus Christi, Oxford. 19.

Part of Suidas at Corpus Christi, Oxford. 76, 77.

Possibly Parker's Homer. 81 at Corpus Christi, Cambridge. May I intercalate here a note not strictly relevant about Richard Brinkley. He was evidently a man of inquiring mind: not only did he use the three Greek books I have mentioned: he also borrowed from Bury Abbey a Hebrew Psalter, now among the Laud MSS., and from somewhere unknown a Latin Euclid, which was No. 82 in the Mostyn Library (lot 38 in the sale); in this he has written in Greek letters a Latin entry of the date 1487. More of him in Rendel Harris's Origin of the Leicester Codex. His name is to be found in other books, e.g. Cleopatra C. ix, Lamentationes Matheoluli.

Joannes Serbopoulos, also of Constantinople, who overlaps Emmanuel, was still at work in 1500. His list is not less considerable.

At Corpus Christi, Oxford, there are-

Nos. 23, 24. Chrysostom dated 1499 and 1500.

No. 77. The latter part of the Suidas.

No. 106. Eustratius on the Ethics, dated 1495.

No. 109. Simplicius, which according to Linacre's list of Grocyn's MSS. was 'manu Serbopuli'.

At New College:

No. 240. Eustratius and others, dated 1497.

No. 241. A second volume of the same, once Linacre's; given to the College by Cardinal Pole.

No. 254. Theodore Gaza, &c., dated 1494.

In the Bodleian:

Auct. D. 5. 2. (Misc. 9), a gospel book. I am not sure whether this is of his writing, but certainly it has his name. At Trinity College, Cambridge:

R. 9. 22. Theodore Gaza, dated 1489.

In every case in which he writes a colophon it appears that

he was working at Reading Abbey.

Corpus Christi has over thirty Greek books, most of which belonged either to Grocyn or Claymond or both; but I have not been able, except in the cases I have mentioned, to see that they were in England at an early date. Most of them in fact are quite late. It should not be forgotten that here also is the one old copy of Bacon's longest Greek Grammar. The fragment of a shorter one is at Cambridge. New College has a larger number of Greek manuscripts, many of which were the gift of Cardinal Pole, but here again I have failed to find traces of medieval English ownership.

At Magdalen is another little nest of some sixteen Greek manuscripts which I must confess I have not examined. The catalogue gives no names of donors for these. Nor has the Bodleian afforded me more material than I have already

specified.

Cambridge I do seem to myself to have explored pretty thoroughly, and I am inclined to think that London is in this particular respect rather poor. At the same time, if I know anything at all, I know how easy it is to leave hideous gaps in an investigation such as this—gaps which the first comer will perceive and fill—and I shall be truly grateful if you, who are by no means the first comers, will help me here. Still more glad, if my sketch could induce any of our members to take up the subject of Greek learning in England and make a finished picture of it.



## PRINTING AT MILAN IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

By VICTOR SCHOLDERER.



T the time of the invention of printing with movable type Milan had just entered upon one of the most brilliant periods of the more or less continuous prosperity which it has for so many centuries enjoyed. Francesco Sforza, the celebrated condottier, taking the title of Duke in

1450, soon caused the renown of his court and capital to spread all over the West, and his son Galeazzo Maria, who succeeded him in 1466, was an even more liberal patron of the arts than his father. The Duchy controlled the greater part of Lombardy, and ranked as the most considerable land power in Northern Italy. It is therefore somewhat surprising to find no authentic record of any book with the imprint 'Mediolani' until August 1471, little short of two years after John of Speyer had named himself in his first Venetian colophon. There is, however, a sufficiency of documentary evidence to prove that several attempts had been made to introduce the new art into Milan at an earlier date.

The first of these records takes us as far back as 14 March 1469, on which day one Antonio Caccia, the son of Alberto, of Ceresole d'Alba in the territory of Asti, 'a learned doctor of arts and medicine', pledged himself formally before a notary to teach Galeazzo de Crivellis, the son of Giorgio, deceased, in Milan, how to 'scribere libros in forma cum impressione'. The instruction is to be given to the utmost of Antonio's own knowledge of the processes, and as fast as the teacher can impart and the pupil absorb the information. The books to be

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Bibliographical Society, 20 December 1926.

thus 'written' are to be of any and every kind, and any profits accruing are to be shared in equal parts between Galeazzo and Antonio. This record shows beyond a doubt that the setting up of a regular press in his native city was definitely contemplated by Crivelli, and if, so far as we can tell, his ambitions were not realized, the fault probably lay with his preceptor Antonio, who appears from the first to have been conscious of a certain inadequacy in his own expertise. In the sequel nothing more is heard of him. Crivelli, on the other hand, did

not abandon his efforts, as will immediately appear.

The second document, a much more definite one, is dated over a year later, in April 1470, and concerns another physician, Antonio Planella or Pianella. This person sought for a ten years' privilege from Duke Galeazzo Maria as a preliminary to migrating from Venice to Milan and there commencing to print with 'molto miglior littera che non quelli di Roma'; his request was backed by the warm recommendation of messer Gerardo Colle, the Milanese envoy at Venice, from one of whose official dispatches to his master the above information is gathered. By May, the following month, the matter had progressed far enough to come up for debate in the Grand Council of Milan, and it appears that Planella's offer was on the point of being accepted when a brother of Giovanni Crivello, chancellor to the Council, intervened with the announcement that he and some others had been in negotiation with a German craftsman, 'un maestro de la Magna' who was prepared to come to Milan 'fare de dicti libri a stampo' with twelve workmen, and that, too, 'liberamente et senza veruno pacto', suitable premises having already been acquired to receive him. The Christian name of the chancellor's brother is not mentioned, but we must surely be correct in identifying him with the Galeazzo Crivelli of the record of March 1469. Evidently he had in the meanwhile fully satisfied himself that the new art was a sound commercial proposition, and was pre-

pared to give it the extensive financial backing which an establishment employing a manager and twelve subordinates would require. The record had no occasion to specify more exactly the German master with whom he had been in treaty, but it is a very great pity that we are given no inkling of his name. If we may be allowed, at any rate, one guess at his identity, we may say that a clue to it is possibly furnished by his competitor Planella when he recommends his own type as much superior to that used by 'them of Rome'. Just about this very time Sixtus Riessinger, a native of Strasburg, seems to have been contemplating the removal of his press from Rome, where he had been printing on a scale sufficiently large to put an establishment of twelve workmen quite within the bounds of possibility, and it may be that he attempted to gain a footing at Milan, where specimens of his skill would be exhibited for the purpose, before applying at Naples, whither he actually betook himself not many months after this date. Whether he was Riessinger or another, at all events, the offer of the German master was on the face of it more acceptable than that of Planella, and the Council clearly preferred it. Nevertheless, in the end it non-suited both parties by a simple declaration that it would not bind itself to any conditions, and that the way was open to any venturer desirous of setting up a printing office in Milan—a declaration which was very likely due to reluctance to offend the patrons of either side. Four months later the Duke himself decides the matter in favour of Planella, who on 7 September is granted a passport as an expert 'in transcribendis aere vel ut vulgo aiunt in forma libris', to come to Milan and print there in pursuance of his agreement with Colle, the envoy at Venice; at the same time there is extended to him an exclusive typographical privilege for five years on condition that no one is found to print better than he. We should, of course, now expect to hear that Planella, with these unexceptionable credentials in his pocket, made all possible speed to remove to Milan and there set up his press. Just at this point, however, the history of early typography, taking one of those abrupt turns into the unknown which so greatly disconcert its devotees, drops Antonio Planella back into the darkness whence he had emerged five months previously. We cannot tell why he did not make good at Milan after all, we cannot even tell whether he ever reached the city. Possibly the plague or some other of the many mischances of those perilous times brought him and his plans alike to a sudden conclusion.

The dark interval which follows on the grant of the passport to Planella lasts for a little under fourteen months. length we reach a record which we can combine with other evidence in order to draw an apparently quite certain inference as to the identity of the first Milanese printer. This record is in the form of a contract dated 28 October 1471, between the priest Julianus de Merlis, of Casorate, a small town between Milan and Pavia, on the one part, and Gabriel de Orsonibus, likewise a priest, and masters Antonius and Fortunatus de Zarotis, of Parma, brothers, on the other part—all the three last named dwelling at the Porta Vercellina in the parish of St. Nazzaro 'ad petram sanctam'. Those of the second part engage to print for the first-mentioned Julianus 'trecentum capita librorum qui nuncupantur Epistole Tulli 'between now and next Easter, Julianus finding all the material required and paying the others 25 soldi imperiali per copy and in return taking all proceeds from the sale of the books. Thus far the document, interesting as it is, only amplifies knowledge that we already possessed, inasmuch as the Cicero in question, an edition of the Epistolae ad familiares signed simply 'Mediolani'. without date or name of printer, has long been recognized as the work of Antonius Zarotus, and is so catalogued by Proctor (No. 5769). But by far the most important information which it conveys is contained in a clause which qualifies De Orsonibus

and the brothers Zarotus as 'procuratores et procuratorio 'nomine . . . magistri Panfili de Castaldis . . . habitatoris 'ciuitatis Venetiarum ad haec et alia faciendum specialiter 'constituti per publicum instrumentum'. For this statement can be combined with a record of a slightly later date, viz. March 1472, telling us that Castaldi was then in Milan as the printer 'quale era venuto quà . . . secundo la conventione'. or in other words, as the printer with the privilege; and these two passages between them make it certain that in Castaldi's case the privilege was actually made use of. There can, in fact, be very little doubt that he and no other is to be considered the owner of the first press set up at Milan, for the two Milanese books which preceded the Cicero, a Festus completed 3 August 1471 (Proctor 5767) and a Pomponius Mela dated on the twentyfifth of the following month (Proctor 5768) agree with the Cicero in type, and cannot with any probability be separated from it.

To be accepted as the prototypographer of so important a centre as Milan is a solid distinction, and compensates Pamfilo Castaldi for the now universal disbelief in the claim made for him as the earliest Italian printer, and rival of Coster and Gutenberg—a claim based on an assertion made in 1789 by the then prior of the Franciscan Convent at Capodistria in Dalmatia that the convent library had at one time contained two small religious tracts printed there by Castaldi about 1461. No copy of these has ever been forthcoming, nor any good evidence of their existence found; all we know is that Castaldi, who was born in Feltre in the Venetian Alps in 1398, was town physician of Capodistria in 1461 to 1464, failed in the latter year to obtain a similar appointment at Belluno, and by August 1469 had migrated to Venice, whence, as we have seen, he came to Milan in 1471. His name, like that of his more shadowy forerunner, Planella, is unrecorded in the annals of Venetian printing, and we are left to wonder why both he and Planella and the still earlier Caccia should all have been physicians, a class of professional men no more generally connected with printing in the fifteenth century than in the twentieth. Setting aside these mysteries, we possess further evidence that the above-mentioned Cicero, due to be completed, according to the contract, before Easter Day, 29 March 1472, was his last work at Milan, for on 5 May, wishing, as we are told, to return to Venice so as to leave it open to any one to print at Milan for the greater benefit of the community—in other words, resigning his letters patent—he was granted a passport out of the Duke's dominions for himself, his instruments, and his material. On 30 July following he was still, or perhaps again, at Milan winding up his affairs, and the last that we hear of him is that he was reinstalled in Venice in April 1474.

With the departure of Castaldi, Milanese printing emerges from the tutelage of a one-man monopoly, this infant stage having lasted very little longer than it did at Venice. Several parties were already waiting to take possession of the field thus thrown open, of whom the two principal are Antonius Zarotus, Castaldi's foreman, and Philippus de Cavaniis of Lavagna, ordinarily known as Philippus de Lavagna. Zarotus, of course, was bound to await the withdrawal of his first employer before embarking on further ventures, but Lavagna must have been treading uncommonly close on the heels of Castaldi, for his first book, a rival edition of 300 copies of Cicero's Epistolae ad familiares, was completed as early as 25 March 1472 (Proctor 5841), and may thus have been on the market before that of Castaldi himself. In an edition of Avicenna, printed in the following year, Lavagna formally claims to be considered 'the first introducer and inventor of this art of printing in this city'. The beginnings of the Milanese press are too obscure to justify us in dismissing this claim as a mere piece of bravado, and it is very possible that Lavagna had been in some way connected with Castaldi's establishment when this was first set going. If this is so, his edition of the Epistolae ad familiares, appearing at a time when Castaldi's monopoly would seem to have been still enforceable, may constitute a similar defiance of his employer on the part of Lavagna as did the rivalry of Bissolus and Mangius with Aldus at Venice in Greek printing a quarter of a century later. Be this as it may, Castaldi appears to have declined a challenge unsuited to his years (he was now already a man of seventy-four). Lavagna was himself no more a practising printer than the physician Castaldi, and might perhaps have been as indignant at being suspected of handling type and ink as any professional man. He stood, in fact, in the same relation to the craftsmen whom he employed as did John of Cologne and Manthen to Vindelin of Speyer and Jenson at Venice. Professor Haebler has taken occasion to draw a distinction between the methods of the book-trade at Venice and at Milan, holding that in the latter centre the functions of publisher and printer were vested from the beginning in separate individuals according to the practice subsequently usual everywhere, while at Venice, as at Rome, the printer normally looked after his own publishing. It may be only owing to lack of documentary evidence that John and Vindelin of Speyer give the impression of being independent venturers, for John of Cologne figures as Vindelin's financial backer as early as 1471, and may have been the power behind him and his brother from the very beginning; moreover, there appears to be no evidence connecting Lavagna with the book-trade prior to the introduction of printing into Milan. Still, it is an undoubted fact that from his very first appearance as a producer of printed books his own activities as the head of the house are specifically recorded as distinct from those of the actual craftsmen his subordinates. On the other hand, there is ample ground for maintaining his title to be considered a printer in the sense of being the owner of typographical plant and premises, just as much as Castaldi himself and so many others who figure as

printers in the handbooks of incunabula. Not only do his books invariably speak of themselves in the colophons as 'impressi per magistrum Philippum de Lavagna' up to the end of 1475, and occasionally after this date, but the language of the unusually large number of documents dealing with his transactions still extant leaves us in very little doubt that it was on his own presses that the majority of the sixty or so books connected with him were actually executed. His first foreman appears to have been one Joannes de Sidriano, who printed for him in the early part of 1472 the edition of the Practica of the notable physician, Giammatteo Ferrari of Pavia, which was long considered the first Pavian incunable; but Sidriano soon migrated to Pavia himself, and much of Lavagna's subsequent work was produced under the superintendence first

of Valdarfer and then of Pachel and Scinzenzeler.

The only considerable rival of Lavagna at Milan during these early years, and an even more important figure than he, was Castaldi's youthful manager, Zarotus, who on his patron's retirement lost no time in striking out afresh for himself. On 20 May 1472 he signed a three years' contract as the executive partner of a company, including another member of Castaldi's staff, De Orsonibus, as press reader, two well-known humanists, Cola Montanus and Gabriel Paveri-Fontana, as editors, and Petrus Antonius de Burgo de Castilliono as financier. The last named was a wealthy lawyer who became in course of time one of the leading Milanese publishers, while Cola Montanus is also found working for Lavagna a little later on. The contract, printed in 1745 by Sassi in his excellent Historia literario-typographica Mediolanensis, is perhaps the most detailed document of its kind which we possess, and well worthy of study for the light it throws on the custom and practice of early typographical associations in Italy. Its careful definition of the functions of Zarotus himself shows these to have been, unlike those of Lavagna, purely technical: he is to equip and main-

tain four presses and to furnish the necessary ink and founts of type, 'Latin and Greek, old and new', and on the subsequent co-option of a brother of Castilliono into the board, he takes charge of three additional presses reserved by him for printing works of civil and canon law and medicine. The first work issued on behalf of the new concern was a grammatical tract by the veteran Greek scholar, George of Trebizond, which the author had furnished with an epistle to Cola Montanus: it was printed with the type originally cut for Castaldi, a proof that the punches had remained in Zarotus' hands, and it inaugurated a considerable series of books almost exclusively humanistic. In these, as throughout the subsequent career of Zarotus, his name stands without mention of partners, in an independence as great as that of Lavagna, although in the one case it is the actual craftsman and in the other the business head who obtains publicity. The syndicate was presumably dissolved at the expiry of its three contractual years, but this in no way impaired the activity of Zarotus, who had a legal claim on the types and material. At least one hundred editions were put forth by him to the end of 1486, and nearly half as many more under the more difficult conditions of the fourteen closing years of the century. As commissions from publishers became scarcer he doubtless turned to bookselling, but so far as can be seen he preserved a measure of independence until his death in 1510 at the age of sixty. Lavagna was less fortunate. In 1480 he seems to have abandoned printing for many years, and when in 1489 he was rash enough to undertake the execution of a legal work in two large and costly volumes, the results were so disastrous as to drive him to accept a situation as traveller for the publishing house of Castilliono in Northern Italy and the South of France.

Milanese typography up to the year 1477 is dominated by Zarotus and Lavagna, with their attendant Valdarfer, who probably printed a good deal for both, and whose thirty-three independent editions are no doubt only the smaller part of his output. Of some 140 books printed at Milan to the end of 1477, quite two-thirds are directly connected with these three names, and a good many of the dozen or so smaller groups also distinguishable will also have been more or less dependent upon them. Before passing on to the firm of Pachel & Scinzenzeler, whose appearance in this very year marks the beginning of a new period, we may turn aside for a moment to consider the Milanese humanists and their activities in print. Just as at Venice, the Latin classics and the literature more or less directly connected with them form considerably the largest section of the total output of the Milanese presses, this being especially the case in the years prior to 1481. Only one of the nine books produced before the end of 1472 is of other than classical interest, and both Zarotus and Lavagna-but not Valdarfer—always paid special attention to this class of work. But while at Venice the classical output soon becomes somewhat promiscuous, many of the Milanese editions strike a more personal note, inasmuch as they are directly related to the group of humanists centred upon Francesco Filelfo. The last forty years of Filelfo's intensely active existence had been spent with only an occasional break at Milan, and when he died there at a great age in 1481, he had long enjoyed a unique reputation as patriarch of the entire humanistic tribe. His interest in Greek studies early made Milan a school of Hellenism which Venice could not rival; his interest in printing, to the importance of which for scholarship he was fully alive, is less well known but very apparent from numerous references in his letters. Both the one and the other have left their mark on Milanese typography. In contrast with the haughty aloofness of the learned in such old-fashioned and exclusive centres as Ferrara, many names distinguished in their day are here found on familiar terms with the press: Bonus Accursius, for example, Boninus Mombritius, Masellus Venia, Gabriel Paveri-Fontana, Georgius Merula, Nestor Dionysius, Ubertinus Clericus, Alexander Minutianus, the Greeks Damilas and Chalcondylas, and many others whose biographies have all been duly sketched by the learned and industrious Sassi.

The case of Filelfo himself is a very special one and, so far as can be seen, without parallel during the period, for while the greater part of such of his works as were published at this time first saw print, as we should expect, in editions duly accredited as Milanese, at least two others, proved by an examination of paper and type to be no less Milanese than the rest, bear the imprint of Rome. The first of these is the translation of the Cyropaedia of Xenophon, hitherto ascribed to the press of Arnoldus de Villa, a name otherwise unknown, with the date 10 March 1474 (Hain 16227, Proctor 3461), the colophon being omitted altogether in some copies, and in regard to this book we have a statement of Filelfo himself that it was executed at Milan about the end of 1476, which is strictly in accord with the internal evidence. The second is the edition of the consolatory epistle addressed to Giacomo Antonio Marcello on the death of his son Valerio, purporting to have been completed at Rome on I January 1475 (Hain \*12960, Proctor 3534), which must have been printed in Lavagna's office. In 1475 Filelfo was received at the court of Pope Sixtus IV with almost divine honours, and for some time lived in high hopes of obtaining a lucrative position in Rome; it is possible that his Roman sojourn has something to do with the mystification of these colophons. There are, however, other bibliographical puzzles connected with him, such as the edition of his Fables, proclaiming itself as 'printed at Venice at the costs of M. C. in 1480' (Hain \*12955, Proctor 4597), but really originating from Pavia, to which this explanation cannot apply, and the whole subject requires further investigation.

Of the other literati just mentioned, Bonus Accursius has

already his place in the history of printing by virtue of the remarkable series of Greek and Greek-Latin texts-the earliest of its kind-produced for him between 1478 and 1481, and including the editio princeps of Theocritus. He deserves a further word of commendation for his patronage of a bold roman fount tried on bodies of various height in several Milanese printing-houses and seen at its best in a Virgil sine nota which was very possibly executed for him by the firm of De Honate. This exceptionally fine fount does much to bring up the average of attractiveness of Milanese roman, which is apt to be a little heavy and rather too mechanically regular. Not only Bonus Accursius, however, but other scholars also, it seems, set the presses working with special material for their own private uses—a custom scarcely allowed for sufficiently by Proctor. Thus there can be brought together, partly from Proctor's heading 'Lavagna', partly from his Milanese and Italian adespota, six books very near akin as to type, of which four are explicitly connected with Boninus Mombritius: one is the Thebais of Statius, a second the scholia of Luctatius on the same, and the third and fourth make up the two parts of the great collection of lives of the Saints by which Boninus is still respectfully remembered. Again, two books edited by Masellus Venia and one edited by Paveri-Fontana, together with the Cyropaedia of Filelfo already discussed, and an edition of the Ambrosian Litany by Archangelus Ungardus, the vicar of St. Zenone at Milan, can be separated off by their common use of a type showing small but constant divergences from the fourth fount of Lavagna; these are doubtless the outcome of a private venture undertaken towards the end of 1476, in which Ungardus, Fontana, and Venia, to say nothing of Filelfo, all had their share.2 Twenty years later Alexander Minutianus, a humanist of some distinction, appears not only as a publisher

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Proctor 5868, 7396, 6081 and 5866, 7398. <sup>2</sup> Proctor 5857, 5865, 5867, 3461, Hain 10121.

but also as a typographical reformer, perhaps the first on record. The editio princeps of the complete works of Cicero, printed for him partly by Le Signerre and partly by Caponago in 1408 and 1499, was expressly intended as a practical protest against the low standards of current commercial printing, and it is interesting to see that it takes the form of a large undecorated folio of very Jensonian appearance, accurately and carefully executed with a single fount of type. Minutianus was also at one time concerned in the preparations for the immense Greek Lexicon of Suidas completed under the direction of Chalcondylas by Bissolus and Mangius in 1499 (Proctor 6077), the last of the remarkable series of Greek incunabula printed at Milan, which began with the first all-Greek text ever printed, Constantine Laskaris' Epitome of 30 January 1476 (Proctor 5889). This date is fully ten years earlier than that of the first Greek book issued at Venice, and Greek printing was already in contemplation in 1472, when, as we have seen, Zarotus obliged himself to furnish his partners with a fount of Greek if called upon to do so. Taken altogether, the humanities occupy at Milan a more important place even than at Venice. for whereas at Venice to the end of 1480 about one-third of the books printed belong to this class, at Milan the proportion is very close on three-fifths—150 out of 250—while over the whole period the ratio of three out of eight is still ahead of the Venetian figure just given.

As we resume our general narrative where it was broken off in the year 1477, we are faced by the peculiar circumstance that whereas the earliest Milanese printing, unlike that of Venice, was preponderantly under Italian control, the position henceforward is exactly reversed, the outstanding figures being two associated Bavarian craftsmen, Leonhard Pachel, of Ingolstadt, and Ulrich Scinzenzeler, whose odd-looking surname no doubt marks him as a native of the village of Zinzenzell, near Straubing, not very far from his partner's home. The presence in

Milan of Pachel appears to be first recorded in 1473, when he was 22 years old, while Scinzenzeler is first mentioned in the colophon of the firm's first book, the Virgil of I December 1477. Both, we may suppose, had been working for Lavagna, and are alluded to by him as 'his Germans' in a colophon of 1478, when their own special venture was already thriving. Their direct association seems to have remained unbroken until the autumn of 1487, and when each established himself in a separate office their relations evidently retained their former cordiality, much of their material being held in common. Ulrich is the more important figure of the two, his quota of editions being more than double that of Pachel, and when he died or retired in 1500, his business was continued by Joannes Antonius Scinzenzeler, judged by his Christian names to be the son of Ulrich by an Italian wife. The name of Henricus Scinzenzeler is also mentioned now and then, and comes into prominence by appearing under the guise of Eppikos in the colophon of the editio princeps of Isocrates in 1493 (Proctor 6065), but it is possible that Henricus may be no more than an alias of Ulrich. For the last twenty years and more of the century the joint and several Pachel-Scinzenzeler concerns are by a very long way the most important of their kind at Milan. Not less than 380 editions, considerably more than half the total Milanese figures from 1478 to 1500, are directly referable to them, and questionless they were interested in a good many of the remainder. Between the end of 1478 and the year 1496 scarcely a single new firm found it possible to make any headway in Milan, while of their original competitors only one, the old-established Zarotus, held his own to the end, the other,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Prof. Haebler in *Die deutschen Buchdrucker des XV. Jahrbunderts im Auslande*, pp. 47-9. The strongest argument in favour of the identification is the Petrarch of 1494, signed 'per Magistro Vlderico Scinzenzeler' (Hain 12775), in which the editor Corniger nevertheless speaks of 'il nostro Henrico Scinzenzeler singular maestro di questa diuina arte della impressione de libri' in the preface.

Joannes Antonius de Honate, being beaten off to Pavia in or shortly after 1491. Both partners, it may be added, did a considerable amount of work for the chief publishing houses of Castelliono and Legnano, as well as for a number of private patrons, and both took law and classics as their chief lines, which in the case of Ulrich comprised well over two-thirds of his entire output; Leonhard, however, printed a fair propor-

tion of theology also.

Mass production, with a low standard of accuracy and beauty, becomes the main feature of Milanese printing after it has passed under the control of Pachel and Scinzenzeler: only one or two of the smaller firms, such as that of the French brothers Le Signerre, redeem its reputation to some extent during the last years of the century. This mass production is very closely assimilated to that of Venice, and its chief, if not its only point of interest lies in the precise nature of the connexion. Inevitably, of course, Venetian type-faces were popular at Milan as elsewhere, Pachel being especially given to their use; but quite apart from this a formidable list can be compiled 1 of books printed by him or Scinzenzeler, which purport in the colophons to be of Venetian provenance, and are in some cases copied from extant Venetian editions of undoubted authenticity. While some of them are unquestionably deliberate piracies, to brand them all as fraudulent would be rash. For one thing, Scinzenzeler was a very slovenly worker, and may perhaps have been so to the extreme point of not troubling to alter another man's colophon when reprinting it. But even if we cannot bring ourselves to believe this, there still remains the special problem of his relations with Manfredus de Bonellis at Venice in the middle nineties. Not only were several illustrated books apparently printed and reprinted in each office in turn with the name of De Bonellis attached in every case, but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Haebler, op. cit., pp. 53, 54. The list there given can be considerably extended.

De Bonellis would seem to have derived one of his founts directly from Scinzenzeler's stock-two circumstances which, taken together, suggest not so much piracy as a working agreement between the firms. It is after all unreasonable a priori to assume that the Venetian book trade was never on other terms than those of cut-throat competition with the Milanese; and in fact there is plenty of evidence to the contrary. The principal Venetian firm, John of Cologne, Jenson & Co., owned a branch establishment at Milan, under the management of Peter Uglnheimer, which is well attested from 1481 onwards, while an edition of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, dated 1475, undoubtedly Milanese work, and probably by Lavagna, but bearing the imprint of John of Cologne and John Manthen, the predecessors of the Jenson Company (Proctor 4303), may very well indicate a much earlier connexion. In 1482 the company took over for sale at Venice 250 copies of a Justinian, Digestum vetus (Proctor 5903), printed by De Honate for two Milanese publishers, who were debarred from offering any of the remainder for sale in the Milanese dominions. Lastly, as late as 1487, the commentary of Baldus on the Code was specially printed at Milan for the company in four large volumes with the famous Jensonian gothic letter (Pellechet 1724, Hain 2284, 2289), an advertisement being prefixed extolling the enterprise of the 'societas Veneta' and the genius of Jenson, who, though dead, lives on immortally in his types. All these transactions call for a suspension of judgement on the commercial morality of Pachel and Scinzenzeler, however much appearances may be against them.

It only remains to round off the present survey with a few statistics similar to those compiled for the earliest printing of Venice in the paper read before you two years back, except that in the case of Milan the calculation has been carried right

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The British Museum possesses only the third and fourth volumes, misdated 1477 in the colophon (IC. 26980).

to the end of the century. The net figure for the whole period works out at 800 editions, so that allowing for strays and castaways, the gross total certainly cannot be put at less than 900. This number, including as it does a great proportion of medium or large-sized works, entitles Milan to take rank next after Venice among the Italian centres of printing, albeit longo intervallo. Of five convenient subject-groups into one or other of which each of the 809 can be told off, viz. classics, divinity, law, the sciences, and vernacular literature, the two largest are those of classics and of law, with 313 and 200 items respectively. These two groups also lead at Venice, but the classical is proportionately somewhat stronger at Milan, as already remarked, while of the 200 Milanese law books only twelve reproduce actual texts of the Corpus juris, a striking proof of the supremacy of Venice in this particular line. Third in order comes the vernacular group with 142 items, more than half of them books of religious interest; as total losses are doubtless more frequent among Italian than among Latin editions, 142 is a notably high figure. On the other hand, Latin divinity makes a very poor show with only 106 items, and the schoolmen and scientific writers a still poorer with only 48 items; yet the subdivision 'liturgies', in which of course the Ambrosian rite figures largely, is not unimportant, and includes what appears to be the editio princeps of the Roman Missal, completed by Zarotus on 6 December 1474, and surviving in but one copy.1

Arranged chronologically, the statistics, like those of Venice, afford some evidence of interest as to the effect of economic or political changes on the local book-trade. The first decade of Milanese printing appears continuously prosperous until 1479, when there is a sensible check to production. The cause is doubtless the great plague of this year, which swept Northern Italy from Venice to Brescia and beyond, with disastrous results to industry on its direct course, as well as indirectly at

Reichling 997. It has been reprinted by the Henry Bradshaw Society.

Milan, although that city escaped general infection. The virulence of the disease at Brescia revived there the cult of the plague-saint Roch, and two versions of his legend for local circulation were at this time hastily printed with Milanese type, and doubtless at Milan itself. The following year, 1480, saw the appearance of no less than fifty editions, the highest of all the annual totals, but a notable decline follows in 1481 and 1482, which is possibly due to the uncertainty bred by the coup d'état by which Lodovico il Moro possessed himself of power in October 1480. In particular, the sudden and permanent falling off in humanistic printing may well be connected with the ruin of Lodovico's chief opponent, Cicco Simoneta, for some years the acting head of the state and a man of intelligence and culture. The total of 255 editions recorded for the ten years ending with 1490, only exceeds that of the first decade by three, but this is in great measure due to the losses of two plague-years, 1485 and 1486, the combined totals of which are below that of 1484 alone. For the final decade the figure is 302, an increase on each of its predecessors of about one quarter. The public events of the closing year of the century, culminating in the fall of Duke Lodovico and the absorption of his duchy by France, appear to have been acquiesced in as readily by the book-trade as they were by the humanists, who, having found an obliging patron in the new French president of council, Gaffrey Carles, lost no time in transferring their allegiance with its attendant panegyric from the House of Sforza to that of Orleans.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Compiled in Latin and in Italian by Francesco Diedo, a Brescian 'philosopher'. Proctor was mistaken in assigning the editions in question to the press at Casal di San Vaso (Nos. 7269, 7270).

# ANALYSIS OF MILANESE INCUNABULA

		Years	1471	'72	73	'74	75	'76	77	'78	'79	°80	181
		Texts .	1	5		10	12	12	18	15	4	10	6
	Classical <	Grammars	1	1	2	1	6	2	2	5	3	9	3
	Classical	Imitations			1	2		2	4	1	3	4	4
		Greek .		٠				I		3		4	
,	Bible, Fathers, L	ives of Saints				1	2		4	1	2	1	
	Dogmatic						I			2	1		
Divinity \	Sermons		1			1				2	4	1	,
l	Liturgies		1			1	2	3		1	1	2	1
	( Taxte of	Compre invie											
	Law Texts of	Corpus juris on law .								1			
	( I reatise	on law .					2	3	8	3	4	4	9
Aristo						1		1					
	astic not Aristotle					1				1			
Astro	nomy, astrology,	mathematics								1			
Other	sciences.			I	4	1	1	1			1	1	2
	( Translations	rom classics										1	
	Theology						3	2	2	1	4	10	,
ks in Italian	Other Prose							2	1	1		2	3
	Poetry				2				2	1		1	1
		Totals	2	7	9	19	29	29	41	39	27	50	34
	7	otals to date	2	9	18	37	66	95	136		202		286

82	'83	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88 '	89 .	90	91	92	93	94	95	'96	'97	'98	99	500	Totals.
-	-	-	_	_		-	4	5	3	3	4	3	2	4	5	3	4	4	1657
5	5	3	4	4 2	4	3 2		2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	68 313
1	2	3			3		3	5	2	2	4	3	5	5	3	5	I	3	
	4										2						1		117
		1	1	1		1	3	1	2	2	1	1	3						27]
*	2	1				2	2	1								1			13 > 106
1		1		1		4	1			4	1		2	1		3		1	30
2	2	1	1	2	2	2		2	1	3		3					4		36 )
		1					,												188 200
7	7	8	5		8	5	16	8	11	5	17	7	5	10	10	7	7	13	1887
				١.															2]
		1	1:		1	.	.					3		1		1			9 48
			1	1	1 .								1	1	1				3
4	2	1	1	1	1			1		3	1	1		3	2			2	347
			1		1.							1	1						47
	1	1:			1	1	3	3	1	4	4	4	2	5		1 -		2	79 14
1	1	5	1		1 .	1	1	1		1	1	2		2	3	1	1	4	32
	1	1								2	4	3	1		1	1	2	2	273
26	31	28	1	3 1	1 24	21	35	29	22	30	40	32	24	33	3 33	27	26	35	80
31:	34	37	38	4 39	8 422	443	478	507	529	559	599	631	65	68	3 721	748	774	809	,

#### SOME NOTES ON THE STATIONERS' REGISTERS

By W. W. GREG



A V I N G lately had occasion to inspect the original Registers of the Stationers' Company<sup>1</sup> my attention has been drawn to a number of miscellaneous points which may prove of interest to bibliographers. Some are only observable in the original documents, others can be equally

well studied in the published transcripts.

In the first place I do not think that it is generally known that, whereas for the most part the entries in the Register were made by one or two clerks who evidently had charge of the Hall Book, as the Register was sometimes called, so that one or more writings persist or alternate over a considerable period, there were, on the other hand, times, chiefly in the last ten years of Elizabeth, when it was the habit for the person submitting the copy himself to make the entry concerning it. It would not of course be safe to assume that these entries are always in the hand of the publisher himself, since he may have employed a confidential servant to transact his business at Stationers' Hall, but on the whole it seems possible that with caution a fairly complete collection of the autographs of the principal stationers in business at the end of the sixteenth century could be extracted from the Register.

This habit of autograph entry did not continue very long, but there were other times (for example, about 1584) at which a somewhat analogous procedure obtained, whereby the clerk at the Hall made the entry but left the copy holder to fill in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> My sincere thanks are due to the authorities of the Company, and in particular to Mr. R. T. Rivington, for their courtesy in allowing me to examine and photograph the documents in question.

his own name in the margin. Again, towards the end of the seventeenth century, namely on 27 February 1682/3, a by-law of the Company enforced 'a new meathod of entry of bookes', whereby the entry was written by the clerk and subscribed by the copy holder, this signature being again witnessed by the clerk. This more elaborate procedure enables us to say that, whereas the copy was in most cases submitted in person, this was not always the case: we find, for example, an edition of Julius Caesar belonging to Henry Herringman and Robert Everingham, the entry of which is signed by 'Ioseph Knight Mr. Herringmans man'. This method of signed entries lasted till the end of March 1687, and was revived nine years later: the formality of witness, however, did not last more than a

vear or so.

There may have been obvious advantages of security in requiring a stationer to authenticate his entries with his own signature, though the practice has little interest for the bibliographer. On the other hand, where the whole entry is autograph the fact may be of quite considerable importance. For instance, where the title given in the entry differs in some material respect from that of the printed book, it may be useful to know whether the entry was written by a person who was in a position to have independent information regarding the work, or one who could do no more than copy a printed or manuscript title-page before him. Or take the case of an important entry of five plays including the old King Leir on 14 May 1594, which was originally made in favour of Adam Islip, his name being then replaced by that of Edward White. Our view of this transaction might quite conceivably be affected by the fact that the substitution was made by the same hand, though, to judge by the difference of ink, at a different date, and that this hand does not seem to be that of either of the stationers concerned. Again, in connexion with the wellknown entry of the piratical Merry Wives, which was both To illustrate these autograph entries a facsimile has been prepared giving three belonging to May 1594, from folio 306 b of Register B, which appear to be in the hands respectively of Peter Short, John Harrison I, and Thomas Creede. They refer to The Taming of a Shrew, Shakespeare's Lucrece, and The Famous Victories of Henry V. It will be noticed that in each case the margin is adorned by the initials 'G. S.' beneath a star. This absurdity, apparently standing for 'Gulielmus Shakespeare', has been added, I imagine in the eighteenth century, to a number of entries connected with Shakespeare's works, and to not a few that have nothing to do with them, such as

Daniel's Cleopatra and Heywood's Rape of Lucrece.1

From the method of entering copy we easily pass to speculation as to the nature of the copy entered. Was it usual to take the manuscript to the Hall for registration before printing was begun, or to submit sheets of the printed work? Considerations of an a priori nature would certainly point to the former course. If there was any risk of authority for the registration being refused it would be obviously unwise to begin printing until the formalities had been completed; while if the manuscript already bore all necessary authorizations (and these are commonly recited at length in the entries), one would suppose that they must have been exhibited in order to obtain registration. Nevertheless, although one can hardly doubt that this was the common practice, there is some evidence that it was not universal. There seem to be some clear instances of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dr. McKerrow suggests that the initials might be those of George Steevens and indicate that the entry has been transcribed by him. This is possible, but all the entries to which the initials are attached are such as might be supposed to have some connexion with Shakespeare.

Missingles further for some lands fram 45 ml 3 age. Being family 3 age. + to the forty that fine for file orgin will on the will the side of the state of the second of the Le me Arredo Colored for god a coste miller los miles for some son formand of formand for the contraction of the Commercial Manne [ hour had

Autograph Entries by Stationers in the Company's Register, May 1594.

books being entered in the Register some time after publication. I have previously (The Library, 1926, vi. 52) given reasons for believing that an edition of The Spanish Tragedy, printed by Abel Jeffes, which is known to have been in existence on 18 December 1592, was produced not later than July that year, though not registered till 6 October. A clear case occurs more than half a century later. Suckling's Last Remains, intended as a supplement to the 1658 edition of the Fragmenta Aurea, bore the date 1659, and a copy was received by Thomason in June of that year, but the publisher, Humphrey Moseley, did not enter the book in the Register till a twelvemonth later, namely on 29 June 1660. It was evidently even possible to obtain registration of a copy without producing any book at all, for on 4 September 1646 Robinson and Moseley entered, among other plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, The Wild-Goose Chase, although, as we know from Moseley's preface to the collection, the piece was at that time lost, and in fact did not come to light till some years later.

It would be exceedingly interesting to have collected the whole evidence respecting manuscript and printed copy, but there would be little likelihood of its altering the general conclusion that both varieties were on occasion submitted for entry. This appears probable from such items of evidence as have come to notice. The first folio collection of Shakespeare's plays, a volume of over 900 pages, bearing the date 1623, reached Bodley's Library before 17 February 1623/4: it was most likely on the market by the previous December. With the possible exception of the preliminaries, the printing was almost certainly completed before the entry of the hitherto unpublished plays on 8 November. Of course it is possible

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> William Jaggard was presumably still alive when his name was placed in the colophon at the end of the volume. He was dead by 4 November when his son Isaac was appointed printer to the City of London in his place (Bib. Soc. Trans., 1919, xiv. 194; Times Lit. Sup., 5 and 12 Nov. 1925). The entry of 8 November

that although the book was already printed, it was not the printed sheets but the manuscript copy that was presented for registration: it is also possible that the printed sheets were accompanied by a separate document containing the licence by Dr. Worrall. It is hardly to be expected that we should often be in a position to prove that an entry was actually made from the printed book rather than from the manuscript which served the compositor as copy, but there is one early instance which does seem to point in that direction. In the interlude of Jack Juggler, one of the characters is Master Boungrace, and on the title-page of the edition printed by William Copland 'at the Vintre' (which is the earlier, and a copy of which came to light in the Mostyn collection) the name is accidentally misprinted 'Maysters. Boungrace'. There is evidently no reason to suppose that the error was in the copy, and when therefore we find the Register describing the piece about November 1562 as 'an interlude intituled Iack Iuggeler & m<sup>18</sup> boundgrace', we may reasonably conclude that the form of the entry is derived somehow, whether directly or not, from the printed text.

Evidence of entries having been made not from the printed book but from manuscript copy is naturally much more abundant, since whenever there is notable difference between the form of the title as given in the entry and in the extant work, we may naturally suppose this to be the explanation. Cases of this sort are frequent, and only a few of the more striking can be mentioned here. Thus Lyly's Galathea was entered on was made by Isaac (and Blount) and it is Isaac's name that appears on the

title-page.

<sup>1</sup> A person respecting whose identity Shakespearian biographers and bibliographers are curiously silent. Presumably, as Dr. McKerrow points out, he was the Thomas Worrall recorded by Hennessy (Novum Repertorium) as rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, 1624-39, and about the same time of St. Mary's, Finchley, and prebendary of Holborn, and according to Strype (Survey of London, 1720, ii. 90) D.D. and prebendary of St. Paul's.

I April 1585 under the title of 'Titirus and Galathea'. The printed book nowhere brings the name Titirus into the title, but Titirus and Galathea are the characters of the first scene. Chapman's Gentleman Usher was entered on 26 November 1605 under the title 'Vincentio & Margaret', the names of the principal characters. Fulke Greville's Mustapha appears on 25 November 1608 as 'Mustapha & Zangar', which is curious, since Zanger appears to be a quite minor character and only enters quite late on. Other cases raise somewhat more complicated issues. It is clear that the extant text of Dekker's Old Fortunatus is refashioned from the two-part play performed by the Admiral's men, and it is probably this fact that was in mind when the piece was entered as 'A commedie called old Fortunatus in his newe lyuerie' on 20 February 1599/1600. The quarto of 1600 calls it merely 'The Pleasant Comedie of Old Fortunatus'. A masque by Middleton and Rowley, entered on 4 July 1620, is described in these terms: 'A Courtly Masque or the world tossed at Tennis, acted at the Princes Armes, by the Prince his highnes seruants.' The performance was actually given at Denmark House, where Prince Charles was taking a course of military training, and which I suppose was at the time known by the sign of 'the Princes Armes'. The allusion does not appear in the published text. When printed in 1639 The Bloody Brother was said to be written by B. J. F.', initials that have led to the fantastic suggestion that it was the work of Beaumont, Jonson, and Fletcher. It would be easy to see in 'B. J. F.' a misprint for 'B. & F.', were it not for the fact that the entry of 4 October assigns it to "7: B: '. This I take to be a slip, due to obvious confusion, for '7: F:' and the 'B. J. F.' of the printed title merely a muddled correction.

Sometimes we are in a position to say that not only had the writer of the entry a manuscript before him but that this itself bore the licence of the censor. In entering Robert Gomersall's tragedy of Lodovick Sforza on 27 February 1627/8, which was authorized under the hand of the Master of the Revels, the clerk actually imitated Sir H. Herbert's signature with its monogram-initials. On 24 April 1615 he entered a play in the terms 'The Hector of Germany. or, the Palsgraue is a harmeles thinge', inadvertently copying down (and subsequently deleting) words clearly taken from Buc's imprimatur. So again on 26 January 1631/2 we find the remarkable rigmarole: 'a Comedy called the Leaguer (the reformacions to 'be strictly observed may be printed not otherwise) expressed

'by thaforesaid wordes by Sr Hen: Herbert'.

In the case of subsequent transfers of copyright no question of licence would arise, and that of ownership would be settled by reference to the Register itself. There is no reason to suppose that either manuscript or printed copy was produced. Clearly lists were often copied from one entry to another as is evident from the persistence of spellings and errors such as 'Titus and Andronicus' (19 April 1602, 4 August 1626, 8 November 1630) and 'Orthello' (1 March 1627/8, 29 May 1638, 25 January 1638/9). Assignment was, however, a transaction guarded by strict formalities and often came before the Court of Assistants for sanction. In later days at least it was customary for the assignor to draw up a formal deed under his hand and seal and for this to be endorsed by the Court or the wardens before being presented for registration. A considerable period sometimes elapsed between the various steps of the transaction,2 but that the actual document was produced to the clerk is clear from an entry of 27 February 1635/6, in which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As it appears, for example, in MS. Egerton 1994, fol. 349<sup>b</sup> (see English Literary Autographs, xxx. (e) at end). Arber misunderstood this and printed <sup>1</sup> J. Herbert <sup>2</sup>. The clerk erroneously wrote <sup>4</sup> M<sup>2</sup> instead of <sup>4</sup> S<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For instance, the deed of assignment of 360 copies from Sarah, widow of John Martin, to Robert Scott was dated 14 June 1681, and the order of Court 7 Nov. 1681, but the transaction was not registered till 21 Aug. 1683.

he copied part of it into the Register, writing: 'Assigned ouer 'vnto [M<sup>r</sup>. Geo: Edwards] by vertue of a Note vnder the hand '& seale of M<sup>r</sup>. Bourne & subscribed by both the wardens these '3. Copies . . . w<sup>th</sup> all my Estate right & title to them & euery 'of them.'

There is one particular class of cases of special interest to students of the drama, in which we can not only say that the clerk had an actual manuscript before him, but even point to the provenance of that manuscript. It is well known that in the theatres the term 'book' had the technical sense of 'prompt-book': two such manuscripts survive bearing on their wrappers the original inscriptions 'The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore' and 'The Book of Iohn A kent & Iohn a Cumber'. Now it is, of course, a common form for the clerk to enter a work as 'a book called' so-and-so, or 'a book of' so-and-so. But when he enters a play as 'a book called the book of 'so-and-so, there can be little doubt that he is copying directly from the manuscript in front of him and that this manuscript was a prompt copy. I have found the following instances of this usage:

14 May 1594. Edward White. Entred for his Copie vnder thands of bothe the wardens a booke called the booke of David and Bethsaba.

28 Oct. 1600. Tho. haies. Entred for his copie vnder thands of the Wardens & by Consent of mr Roberts. A booke called the booke of the merchant of Venyce.

20 May 1608. Edw. Blount. Entred for his copie vnder thands of Sr Geo. Buck knight & mr warden Seton a booke called. The booke of Pericles Prynce of Tyre.

# To these I would also add a case found many years later:

29 June 1660. Mr Hum: Moseley. Entred for his Copies (vnder the hand of Mr Thrale Warden) the severall Plays following. that is to say... The booke of the 4. Honorable Loves. a Comedy. by William Rowley....

Occurring in a list of otherwise plain titles there can be no doubt that this is another instance of the same.

The last play was apparently never printed, but it is worth observing that the first edition of David and Bethsabe, apart from certain dislocations and confusions such as might happen in any manuscript, presents a good text. So does Heyes's quarto of The Merchant of Venice, though it is true that Professor Dover Wilson is definitely against the supposition that it was set up from a prompt copy. I hesitate, however, to accept his arguments as conclusive against the evidence of the Register, and we have in any case the fact that a copy of Heyes's quarto was itself used as a prompt-book in the theatre before becoming the basis of the folio text. The most interesting case, however, is that of Pericles. Here we have Blount registering the prompt copy in the spring of 1608. In 1600 another stationer, one Henry Gosson, put out an edition containing a notoriously bad text. In 1623 the play was excluded from the folio collection of which Blount was a chief promoter. The usual explanation that this was due to difficulties over the copyright is not admissible. It is more probable that the prompt copy, having got into Blount's hands, was, after registration, accidentally lost or destroyed, and that the play was excluded from the canon because the players had no satisfactory text to substitute for the bad one already current, as they were able to do in the parallel cases of Henry V and The Merry Wives.

There remains one isolated point on which I should like to touch. Those familiar with the Registers know that at the end of volume B there is a series of important decrees and ordinances of the Court of Assistants which are not printed in Arber's 'Transcript'. A few extracts were copied by William Herbert for his edition of Ames's Typographical Antiquities.

Arber states that these ordinances, which fill 122 pages, 'are certainly not the Court Book of the Company from 1576 to 1603 A.D. which has apparently perished'. I am not at present able to speak confidently on the point, but I very much suspect that they are.

One of the entries thus made available is the following, of 18 December 1592:

Yt is ordered: that if the book of Doctor Faustus shall not be found in the hall book entred to Richard Oliff before Abell Ieffes claymed the same weh was about May last. That then the seid copie shall Remayne to the said Abell as his proper copie from the tyme of his first clayme Weh was about May last as aforeseid.

Of course no edition of Marlowe's play is known as early as this, and one might suppose therefore that the book in question was the chapbook or romance. Sir E. K. Chambers, however, observes in his Elizabethan Stage (iii. 422): 'This can hardly 'refer to the prose History of Faustus, of which the earliest 'extant, but probably not the first, edition was printed by 'T. Orwin for Edward White in 1592.' On the evidence before him, Sir Edmund's reasoning seems sound, but he was not in full possession of the facts. Herbert printed the entry with substantial accuracy, but he omitted to observe, or at least to mention, the marginal note which, here as in the case of bookentries, gives the names of the persons concerned in the entry. And the names given are 'Abell Ieffes' and 'Tho. Orwin' whence it is apparent either that the 'Richard Oliff' of the entry is a slip for 'Thomas Orwin', or else that Orwin was somehow claiming in virtue of an entry by Oliff or Olive. Since, therefore, we know that Orwin had printed an edition of the prose history (not, by the way, for White, but only to be sold by him), it is evident that it was over this and not over the play that the dispute arose.

# CAXTON ON THE CONTINENT

By W. J. BLYTH CROTCH



ITHER in 1441 or 1445 William Caxton, still an apprentice in the Mercers' Company, left England for the Continent. In all probability he went straight to Bruges, for that town was not only the northern centre of world-commerce, but also the head-quarters of the

Merchant Adventurers overseas. He tells us that the subsequent thirty years were spent 'for the most parte in the contres of Braband, Flaundres, Holand and Zeland': 'for the most part', because we know that he spent most of the year 1453 back in England and some eighteen months later on at Cologne.

On issuing from his apprenticeship he rapidly prospered in business on his own account, for, as is well known, in 1450 he and another merchant stood surety before the authorities of

Bruges for so large a sum as filo sterling.

In May 1462 Edward IV granted to the Merchant Adventurers a 'large charter' as Hakluyt styles it, in which was authorized the appointment of a Governor as an accredited representative of the English king. One William Obray, who had been Governor during several previous years, was nominated to fill the newly exalted position for the year 1462-3. Yet the Records of the Mercers' Company show us that during that year it was William Caxton who was actually at the head of the merchants in Bruges.

But in 1547 one Thomas Nycolls made an inventory of the documents then in the possession of the 'worshipfull fellawship of marchauntes adventurers', and a perusal of that inventory throws some light on the mystery. Therein are recorded:

Item. a discharge of one William Overey from the Rome of governor, dated the 24th. day of June anno 1462.

Item. a certificate made by the towne of Andwarpe declaringe that william Overey, Governor receyued of the lordes of that towne 58li. Flemen. to be frendely unto their towne, and that therfore he omytted certayne articles of priuileges, etc. dated 2 of June 1462.

From which it is safe to conjecture that Obray was dismissed from his office for allowing himself to be bribed by the town of Antwerp to act dishonourably in their favour. No reference to the appointment of William Caxton in his stead has ever been found, but it is quite clear that Caxton was Governor in 1463, although it is not until 1465 that we find him officially styled 'gouernour by yonde the see'. This office he held until 1469, a period of years characterized by difficulties of com-

merce and negotiation on every hand.

The commercial treaty under which trade between Burgundy and England had been for a number of years continuing was due to terminate in November 1465, and at the time of Caxton's appointment in office it was becoming necessary to commence negotiations for its renewal. Of this the mayor and aldermen of London made the King aware in the autumn of 1464, and the Chancellor was immediately directed to draw up a commission for an embassy to treat with Burgundy upon the matter. Sir Richard Whetehill, already a diplomat of some eminence, and William Caxton were nominated for the task.

They enjoyed some measure of success, for within a week an agreement was reached whereby the intercourse of merchandise was to continue for the allotted year and for as long a period

subsequently as should be pleasing to both parties.

Doubtless the hopes of the English merchants were raised very high on this account, but a serious blow immediately befell them. Several times in the past the manufacturing towns of the Netherlands, feeling that English trade was seriously menacing their prospects, had prevailed upon Phillippe le Bon to prohibit the sale of English cloth in his dominions, but each time the results had been so detrimental to the Low

Countries themselves that the order had been revoked. Yet once again the towns of Brabant, Flanders, and Holland, smarting under the new restrictions on imports and exports imposed by the English Parliament, appealed to the Duke. They alleged that the importation of raw wool from England was destroying their cloth industry, and that the price asked for it was growing more and more excessive as the home demand increased: nor was this all, but payment would now be accepted only in gold or silver, and for this reason the major portion of the bullion in the Duke's territories was flowing steadily into England. These serious considerations roused the Duke anew, and on 26 October 1464 he once more forbade the buying of English yarn and raw wool in his dominions.

Anger dominated the consternation felt by the English merchants at this new act of protection, made just at a time when amity seemed assured, and the Cloth Merchants withdrew from Bruges in a body and were eagerly received by Utrecht, where the value of their presence was recognized to the full.

So glad were the Utrechters of this opportunity of centring the great cloth industry within their walls that they granted the Merchant Adventurers the same privileges as previously they had given to the Hanse merchants. Thus within a month after Phillipe's decree the English were established at a new base and full protection for their persons and goods was formally issued to William Caxton as Governor of the English Nation on 24 November for the duration of one calendar year.

At the same time an offer of similar protection and safety was made to any foreign merchants wishing to visit Utrecht for the purpose of trading with the English. The news quickly spread among the neighbouring towns, and Zutphen had applied for these privileges as early as 8 December of the same year.

Once settled, the English merchants applied to the town council for permission to hold a market for woollen and other goods: this request was approved on 27 December, and the first market was held during the six weeks commencing 6 January 1465. A general proclamation was issued and circulated in the neighbourhood, copies of which are still preserved in the archives of Cologne and Kempen. During the year a second and third market were held, the latter finishing on 20 July.

On 12 October the Council of Utrecht repeated the protection to Caxton and all the merchants and prolonged the privileges for a further year as from 24 November 1465. There are, however, no records of markets held during the next year, probably not because of their lack of success, but that a firmly

established and flourishing trade had sprung up.

All during their stay there, Caxton was empowered to fulfil the offices of the governorship, in controlling the merchants, in regulating trade, in settling disputes, save that the town reserved the right to deal with such cases as involved life or limb. The Governor or his deputies elected the usual officers from their own ranks, but the town levied a small tax on all

goods bought and sold within their walls.

Meanwhile negotiations for a permanent basis of intercourse still went on, and a commission was issued to six ambassadors, among which Caxton's name does not appear, for this purpose in May 1465. They succeeded in arranging a diet to take place in the following October, concerning which a letter was sent by the full Court of the Mercery to Caxton, deploring its lack of success, and urging him to 'labour for a measure by 'the which your persones and goodes may be in suretie for a 'resonable while'.

When the House of Commons was assembled in January 1465 they were firm in the suggestion that the King should exclude all kinds of merchandise, except food, of the 'growing, working, or making' of Burgundy from his realm, until such time as the Duke should revoke his own unfriendly decree. In 1466

plans went forward for a marriage between Charles, the son of Philippe le Bon, and Margaret of York, the King's sister. In these negotiations, which took place at Bruges, it is very probable that Caxton took a part, although it is obvious that most of his time must have been spent at Utrecht with the main body of the Adventurers. Some time previously the Earl of Warwick had written to Caxton, calling upon him to enforce the new Act of Parliament as rigorously as he was able, and on 27 May (1466) Caxton wrote to the home authorities enclosing a copy of Warwick's letter. The wardens in London bade him fulfil the injunctions.

About this time, or just before, Caxton may have been at St. Omers, for the end of the wardens' letter remarks that they had not received as yet 'lettres that ye write ye shuld sent'

from that place.

Charles, Count Charolais, from the first showed positive disinclination to wed Margaret of York, but when it came home to him that Louis of France, aided by Warwick, had almost won Edward over to an alliance in that direction, he began to fear that the marriage alone could cement the bond of friendship between them and thus assure a protective alliance against

his enemy, France.

Negotiations did not proceed felicitously until Philippe le Bon died and his son succeeded to the dukedom. It was not until November 1467, however, that a commercial treaty was at last drawn up, but this time it was to endure for thirty years. It was ratified by the princes in January and February 1468, and the marriage of Margaret and Charles was celebrated in the following June and July. No longer was the latter a reluctant party to it: his first glimpse of Edward's sister so enchanted him that he was in all haste to return and claim the kisses she was not loath to bestow.

In November 1467, things being still unsettled at Bruges, Caxton once again asked the authorities of Utrecht to extend their permission of residence; the Adventurers did not outstay their final date however. It is probable that they were back in Bruges for the nuptial festivities in the early summer. It was no doubt at these ceremonies that Caxton met for the first time many of the nobility, such as Lord Scales, the future Earl Rivers, and John Russell, who were to be his friends and supporters in his later enterprise of printing.

#### II

The merchants of the Hanseatic League had long enjoyed in London a position as prominent as that occupied in any of the great continental trading-centres, and Henry VI had only followed the tradition of the House of Lancaster when, in 1430, he renewed all their privileges; but the accession of Edward IV changed the fortunes of the Easterlings, as they

were known in England.

From the first he asserted himself and gave the Hansards to understand that all the privileges they had enjoyed under former kings were to be regarded as cancelled. This move was designed to win the favour of the rich citizens of London, who had a long-cherished grievance against the League. Edward therefore renewed their privileges only until Candlemas Day following, 1462. Cologne and the towns of the Zuyder Zee, who were more friendly to England than the rest of the League, sent an embassy of two to treat with Edward, and a general diet was arranged, almost entirely as a result of the strenuous efforts of the Cologners. This project, however, was defeated by plagues and internal dissensions which broke out within the League, but in March 1466 the Hanse showed signs of capitulation, and peace was in sight when Denmark entered the quarrel.

An old agreement between England and Denmark, confirmed in October 1465, decreed it to be unlawful for any British subject to go to Iceland without the King of Denmark's permission; but in the summer of 1467 certain fishermen from Lynton and Bristol landed and pillaged the Icelandic coast. Naturally King Christian I complained to Edward, but he received no redress, and as a reprisal, seized four English ships in the Sound. The story came to England, however, that the seizure had been made by Hanseatic ships trading with Denmark. So on 29 July 1468 the mayor and aldermen of London, by command of Edward and the Council, went to the Steelyard and sealed up the warehouse doors and sent all the Hanseatic merchants to the Counter. An order was also given for the arrest of all the Hansards in England. They were told that they must prove their innocence by Michaelmas or pay a fine of £20,000!

The imprisonment of the Cologne men was of but short duration, for there existed between that city and Denmark an ancient enmity such as made it unlikely that they were in any

way implicated.

In November, despite proof of their innocence obtained from King Christian himself, the Hansards were ordered to pay compensation out of the Hanse goods, those of the Cologne Hansards being excepted. On the following 5 December the mayor and sheriffs were ordered to arrest all merchants of the German Hanse, except of Cologne, who were not already in

prison, and to confiscate their goods.

While all this was in progress the King and his Council had not forgotten the necessity of effecting a recommencement of the importation of English cloth into the Netherlands, and although Charles left the nuptial feasts and his English guests on the 12th of July, they stayed on to continue the diet, which did not conclude until the 18th. Nevertheless the Duke's hospitality did not yet include the 'enlarging' of English cloth, and the only result was an agreement upon two further diets, a preliminary meeting at Antwerp on September 15, and a later one at Bruges, Calais, or St. Omers, at which the ambassadors should be authorized to settle all controversies.

In preparation for the first thereof, the King commanded the Mercers' Company to provide him with certain of their members 'To go out in embassage with diverse ambassadors into Flaundres', and on 9 September they choose William Redeknap, John Pykering, and William Caxton for this purpose. The diet was, however, postponed until 20 January 1469, and again, before that date, till the 12th of May, certainly owing to no fault of Edward's it is safe to say.

On the 28th January the mayor and aldermen of London received a letter from Caxton on behalf of the Hanse merchants, which was read before a small gathering; since there was not a full court, however, it was agreed that all the aldermen should be summoned to meet at the church of St. Thomas

of Acon the same afternoon to consider the matter.

Edward, on the 1st May, named the Bishop of Rochester, Wenlock, Scott, Hatcliff, and seventeen merchants, at whose head were John Prout, mayor of the Staple of Calais, and William Caxton, as his ambassadors. So anxious was he that nothing further should hinder the meeting that he gave a special commission to Wenlock, Scott, Prout, and Caxton, who were already beyond the sea, to act alone if contrary winds should happen to delay the rest of the embassy, and yet once more the diet was put off, this time till I June, for it was decided to hold a monetary conference in addition, and further preparations were therefore necessary. This necessitated new commissions, too, in one of which appears the name of William Obray linked with those of Rosse and Rouchede, and so once more the two Governors must have met one another on the Continent.

How busy Caxton must have been at this period we could readily conceive, even if we had not the following interesting sidelight from the archives of Bruges. In the Registre des Sentences Civiles, under the date of 12 May 1469, is placed on record how one Daniel Adriens, plaintiff, and Jeroneme Vento, for and in the name of Jaques Dorie, merchant of Jennes, defended

dant, agreed to submit their case to the personal arbitration of 'Willem Caston, marchant Dangleterre, maistre et gouverneur des marchans de la nation Dangleterre'. But Caxton 's'estoit necessairement retrait de ladite ville de Bruges', and the case therefore came before the 'pleine chambre deschevins' for

judgement.

The ambassadors left London on the 19th of May, empowered to negotiate with the Hanseatic League at Bruges as well as with the Burgundians. Little was accomplished, although they stayed long abroad, making Bruges their centre, where on 11 June they received a present of 'trois pieces de vin'. In a similar grant made at Ypres on 13 August Caxton too had his share of the Vins d'honneur, doubtless as a recognition of his services. Ten days later the monetary conference arrived at an agreement, fixing parity of exchange for all the coins in legal circulation in England and the Netherlands.

But 'enlargement' there was none.

The attempt at reaching an understanding with the Hansa also came to naught, or worse than nothing. The Hansards at Bruges, duly authorized to represent all the Hanseatic towns, offered to accept a year's truce if the Duke of Burgundy so willed, but only on condition that the London Hansards were compensated for their losses, or at least given back all their goods. On the same condition they were willing to hold a diet in some continental town, but they insisted that Edward must be ready not only to treat for peace but also to redress ancient and recent grievances. If these demands remained unfulfilled, they said, they would follow the Duke of Burgundy in forbidding the importation of English cloth into the Hanse towns, and would recall their merchants from London. The Duke, seeing how far things had gone, attempted to mediate, but the state of affairs was irretrievable, for the troubled state of English internal policy enabled the embassy to promise nothing. It was suggested that negotiations should be reopened

when quiet had been restored, but the Hanse continued to name impossible conditions, and the outcome was that the merchants of Cologne, expelled from the League for selfish disloyalty, remained in England and enjoyed the ancient privileges of the Guildhalla Teutonicorum, while all connexion between England and the other Hanseatic towns was severed.

#### III

The close of the year 1470 saw the brief re-adeption of Henry VI. The exact extent of this political change in its reaction upon the Netherlands is impossible to determine. It has been generally accepted that Caxton relinquished the office of Governor of the English Nation some time in the year 1469: we have his own authority for the fact that he was definitely in the service of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV, by about March 1471. In the light of the fact that Warwick's policy was to reappoint in office the men who had already held them under Edward, it seems unlikely that Caxton was dismissed from the governorship—unless perchance his friendly connexion with Lord Hastings of Calais attracted displeasure upon him. The earliest record of a successor in the office appears in the French Roll for the twelfth year of the reign of Edward IV (1472), where Hatcliff, Russell, and John Pickeryng, Consul Mercatorum Regni nostri frequentantium Patrias ipsius Fratris nostri, are empowered to treat with Burgundy.

In March 1469 Caxton had begun to translate the 'Recueil des histoires de Troies', compiled from Latin sources by Raoul le Fevre. When, however, he had completed five or six quires, he bethought himself of his inadequacy for the task and laid it aside, until 'on a tyme hit fortuned' that he showed them to Margaret, who commanded him to amend his English and

continue the work.

What time he was able to give to his new literary enterprise

must have been very brief, but, begun thus in Bruges, it was continued at Ghent and not finished until September 1471 in the holy city of Cologne. Why Caxton visited Ghent is not known, but as the ambassadors of Edward IV there invested Charles the Bold with the Order of the Garter, and as on that occasion John Russell delivered the oration which Caxton later printed at Westminster, it would seem likely that he was present in person for that event in February 1470.

The date at which he relinquished the governorship must remain a mystery, but the cause may be postulated with some certainty: Caxton desired to marry at the time, possibly a lady in the retinue of Margaret, and the rule for merchants abroad was strict celibacy. A daughter was born to him, whose fate after her father's death was far from happy, but appar-

ently he had no more children.

Edward himself was driven from England to Burgundy and rescued by Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, from the Hansards who had pursued him; he enjoyed the Seigneur's hospitality from October to January, for Charles the Bold was long in deciding whether or not to aid his brother-in-law. Edward finally did receive his help and, returning in February

1471, was master of England by the end of April.

It is not insignificant that at this time Colard Mansion came under the special protection of Gruthuyse, who honoured him so far as to become godfather to his little son.<sup>1</sup> In his early youth Mansion had been given a position in the library of the Duke of Burgundy and had rapidly made himself known as a careful and artistic scribe and illuminator. Just at this time he attained the distinction of being elected Dean of the Confrérie des Libraires de Bruges, and then, if not before, would naturally have attracted the notice of William Caxton. It was from the collaboration of these two under the patronage of a noble triad, Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, Louis de Bruges,

<sup>1</sup> See Van Praet, 'Notice sur Colard Mansion'.

and Edward, King of England, that the beginnings of English

printing flourished.

But although the seed was planted in these years, it was not till later that the first blade made its appearance: meanwhile fate ordained that Caxton should visit Cologne, the 'holy city', whose position on the Rhine made it one of the first

places to receive the new art of printing.

There is the strong possibility that Caxton's departure to Cologne may have had something of the motive of a voluntary and protective exile, for it was just at this time that the news must have reached Bruges of the insurrection of almost the whole of Caxton's native county of Kent. Two points rather strengthen this view: the first is that Caxton took out a general pardon for all offences committed by him before 4 March 1472, before he returned to Bruges, and the second is that the conventional apology for producing a literary work, the avoidance of idleness, takes on in the Epilogue to Book II of the Recuyell a note of genuine sincerity: 'And also because that I have now good 'leyzer beyng in Coleyn And have none other thynge to doo 'at this tyme In eschewyng of ydlenes, moder of all vyces.'

By July 1471 Caxton was actually in Cologne, for the Register of Aliens has an entry dated the 17th of that month, permitting Will. Caxton uyss Engelant to reside in the city until the 16th of August next following. This entry was published as the discovery of Colonel Birch in The Library for June 1923, but was, however, previously printed in an obscure foot-note by Walther Stein in 1907. Eight days before the date of expiry a second permission was granted him, this time not due to expire until Christmas Day. During this period, Caxton tells us, on 10 September, he finished his translation and thus fulfilled the 'dreadful command' of his mistress, made at the beginning of the year. A third permission of residence was

granted on 11 December.

Here Caxton learnt not only the theory but also the practice

of printing, by helping with the production of Bartholomaeus's De Proprietatibus Rerum at the press of the printer of the Flores Augustini. On 24 June the fourth extension of residence is recorded; this was due to last till December 1472, but was not renewed.

War with the Hansards was both discomforting and unprofitable to Edward, so he reopened negotiations which dragged on from February 1472 till September 1473, when at Utrecht a settlement was made which marked the highest point of

ascendancy ever reached by the League in England.

The 20th July 1474 saw the ratification of the Treaty of Utrecht, and on the 22nd Alexander Legh, chaplain and almoner to the King, was empowered to carry the ratification to the Hansards at Bruges; but when Legh met John Duerkoep, the League's representative, the latter found fault with certain points in the writing and sealing of the documents of ratification, and in his turn Legh discovered defects in the two

documents sent by the League in exchange.

It was thereupon agreed that new documents should be provided by both parties before I November, and that the original parchments should be left in the care of the Prior of the Carmelite monastery, in which the Bruges Hansards had the use of a chapel. This formal little ceremony took place actually in August in the *Refectorium*: Legh and Duerkoep showed their commissions to the Prior, made a statement as to the contents of the documents, which were then read, compared, and deposited by the Prior in a wooden chest in the presence of two accredited witnesses, William Caxton, 'Anglico', and Bertram Bercholf, 'almanno', to be produced again by the Prior only at the express wish of both the parties.

The Cologners were not turned out of the Steelyard until the Hansards again took it over in December: on the continued solicitation of Edward they were readmitted into the

Hanseatic League nearly two years later.

On the 1st December John Morton, Thomas Montgomery, John Scott, Hatcliff, Roos, Tyrell, Caxton, and Eliot, were commissioned to treat with the commissaries of the Duke of Burgundy concerning a true estimation and fixed value of currency, and on 26 December, by Act of Parliament, Edward fully re-confirmed the privileges granted by Richard II and

succeeding kings to the Hansards in England.

Scott and Hatcliff arrived at Bruges early in January 1475, and successfully arranged not only the matter of coinage but also a final peace between England and Burgundy. While in Bruges they offered once more to make the exchange of the documents of ratification. It was then found that Legh had failed to make clear that all the three documents were to be copied anew and only one was forthcoming. Although therefore all was now satisfactory to both parties, the exchange did not take place, but the English agreed to send the remaining two before Easter.

These were actually to be sent to William Caxton at Bruges, as we learn from a letter from Wanmate in Dutch, contained in the *Hanserecesse*, and dated 29 April 1475. This letter also mentions that a document, 'such as the people of Cologne are using daily concerning the old privileges of the Hanseatic League', was also sent to Caxton. This appears to be in connexion with the payment of rents and other dues incurred by

their tenancy of the Steelyard.

Actually the documents did not reach Caxton for some months, for it was not until 20 August that 'Kaufmann Wilhem Caxton' and 'Notar Wilhem Dollyng' were empowered by the King to execute the postponed exchange of the ratifications. The actual event took place on 4 September, when Caxton and Dollyng placed in the hands of Duerkoep, Goswin de Cousvelden, and Gerard Bruns, Secretary to the League, the three documents from Edward and received the two newly written ratifications from the Hansards.

Now that peace had at last been achieved both with the Hanse League and with Burgundy, Edward immediately set about the proposed Anglo-Burgundian invasion of France. At the end of June he crossed with an army to Calais, but his poor prowess in the campaign, Charles the Bold's defection, and the mercenary settlement which was effected by Louis of France do not concern us. Our interest lies only in the fact that William Caxton, 'commissaris ende facteur van den Coninc van Engelant', was entrusted with the very difficult task of acquiring in Holland and Seeland ships for the invasion.

The municipal accounts of Gouda in South Holland also bear testimony to Caxton's authoritative position in connexion with this event, for they refer to two public dinners given to William Caxton and Gysbertus van der Mye in 1475.

These entries complete our present knowledge of Caxton as foreign ambassador.<sup>1</sup>

Note: The documentary sources of the above information are very widely scattered, but a large proportion of them may be found in the Public Record Office, more particularly in the Patent Rolls, Treaty Rolls, and the whole series of Writs and Bills contained in Chancery Warrants I. The printed records of the Hanserecesse and the archives of the more important towns of the Low Countries, particularly of Bruges and Utrecht, enshrine the bulk of the remainder. The books of the Mercers' Company, which supplied Blades with most of the information previously known, are not available for the modern student.

W. J. B. C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is no longer strictly true: too late to incorporate them in the foregoing, the writer discovered some half-dozen entries concerning Caxton in the archives of Middelburg, one of which shows that he was still Master of the English Nation in 1470. Another document has also come to hand from the Hague.

# AN INVENTORY OF PAPER, 1674

By R. W. CHAPMAN



R. MADAN first called my attention to Bodleian MS. Rawlinson D. 398, f. 156. I drew certain inferences from this MS. in my 'Notes on Eighteenth-Century Bookbuilding' (*Lib-rary*, iv, 1923, p. 175). But so little evidence has hitherto been collected by bibliographers

on this perplexing subject of paper that it seems worth while to print the document in full. It is a report, rendered to Bishop Fell in 1674, of a number of lots of paper, offered, it should seem, by the two merchants whose names are given.

The Act of 1711 (10 Anne, c. 19) throws light on the meanings of names applied to paper. Sections 32 and 38 give the rate of duty payable on imported papers and papers made in Great Britain respectively. The former schedule is a long one, and distinguishes (1) between papers 'usually called or known by the name of 'Atlas, Imperial, Royal, &c.; (2) between different species of these. The following extract gives the duty per ream, and follows the order of the Act:

Atlas Fine .		16s.	Demy Second .	28. 6d.
Atlas Ordinary		8s.	Demy Printing .	1s. 8d.
Imperial Fine		16s.	Fine Fools Cap .	2s. 6d.
Super Royal Fir	ne	128.	Second Fools Cap	28.
Royal Fine		8s.	Superfine Pot .	28.
Medium Fine		6s.	Second Fine Pot .	1s. 6d.
Demy Fine		48		

Then follows a list of Genoa papers, of which the order is Royal, Medium, Demy, Crown, Foolscap (Crown is missing from the earlier list).

# The list in Section 38 is shorter:

Demy Fine		1s. 6d.	Fools Cap Fine .	18.
Demy Second		Is.	Fools Cap Second	9d.
Crown Fine		Is.	Fine Pots	Is.
Crown Second		9d.	Second Pots .	6d.

Now whatever may have been the earlier application of these terms, and whatever their precise signification in 1711, it is quite clear that they here indicate sizes. It will be seen at a glance that the order of the series is the same as to-day. If further evidence were needed, it could be found in Section 40, where it is enacted 'that all sorts of paper of the respective 'dimensions and value of the paper chargeable by this act 'under the respective denominations aforesaid' shall continue to be so chargeable even if their names are altered.

The Rawlinson MS. carries us back thirty-seven years, and

adds important detail. It will be noted that-

(I) the watermarks have ceased to correspond with the names of the 'sorts'—though they have a *tendency* to correspond, the reason of which doubtless lies in their history.

(2) the names of the sorts indicate sizes (note the expression pot sise) and include inter alia all the names of sizes now

current, and in the order of to-day.

(3) the variations are not very great. The five *crowne* sorts vary from 9 to 9½ inches wide and from 13½ to 14½ inches long. The eight *demies* vary from 9½ to 10½ and from 14½ to 15½.

(4) the use of the 'counter-mark', a secondary mark giving

as a rule the maker's initials, is well established.

It is often assumed that these terms, when they occur early, refer either to the watermark or to a quality indicated either by the watermark or by a conventionalized meaning of the watermark. The appropriation of the terms to dimensions was no doubt a gradual process; but it seems to have been complete in 1674, and I should be surprised if it did not begin much earlier.

MS. Rawl. D. 398, fos. 156-7

Sort	Mark	How many Sheetes in a Quire	How many inches Long	How many inches Broad	P. R	Price ye Reame	9 40
Merreatt's Super Royall	on one side 1. Flower de Luce crowned  & bordered a Pack mark at Bottome  & WE on thother side R.C	42	881	134	ei	2. 16. 0	0
Seward's Super Royall	{ marked as the other, but no Letters } under Jesus	**	181	134	ei	2. 10. 0	0
M. Dutch Royall	I Flower de Luce; hanging at it a Scutcheon charged wth 2 Barralets Sin- ister: on the other side. R.C.	<b>1</b>	82	118	-	1. 14. 0	0
S. Royall	on the one side same mark wth ye Dutch Royal on the other side. P.B.	ŧ	81	118	=	1. 14. 0	0
M. Dutch Medium	on one side ye same marke as ye super  Royall on thother ye same saue yt  vnder Jesus are the Letters LM or R.C.	77	<del>2</del> 91	‡oı	ä		0
S. Medium	The same mark wth the Dutch Medium saue that there are no letters ynder Jesus	#	164	11	:		Cic
M. Fine Dutch Demy	The same Mark w <sup>th</sup> the Medium of Sewards	#	15	26	ó	0 . 16. 0	0
S. Fine Dutch Demy	The same Marke wth Mereatts Demy  But that there are vnder Jesus. P.B.	7	142	16	ó	0. 15. 0	0
M. Medium	A Horne crowned & bordered & vnder it. WR.	72	164	01	ó	o. 14. o	0
M. Royall Paper of Avignion	on one side a Bunch of Grapes on thother, some letters	2.5	₹41	12	=	r. 4. 0	0
M. Paper Royali	on one side a Flower de Luce on thother \\ MB etc.	3.5	81	411	ó	· · ·	0

0 11. 6	9. 11. 6	0. 11. 6	8. 6	8.	8. 6	8. 6	8. 6	8.	7. 6	7. 2	8. 6	7. 9	8.	0	0 .+1
0	ó	ó	ó	ó	ó	ó	ó	ó			ò	ó	ó	ó	0. 14.
<b>11</b>	<b>4</b> 6	₹6	<b>‡</b> 11	11	411	***	411	94			01	01	101	<b>16</b>	10
<b>*</b> 81	144	1441	171	171	141	11	174	15			154	154	151	133	<b>‡</b> 91
25		42	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	25	25			25	2.5	2.5	25	2.5
{ on one side a Flower de Luce on tother. }	on one side a Horne Crowned & bor-}  dered vnder a Pack mark. WR on thother side. L.M.	on one side a Flower de Luce crowned  & bordered wth a Pack-mark WR on thother side. A.I.	{ on one side a Flower de Luce on thother }	on one a Bunch of Grapes Leaved on the other a Long name	on one side a Bunch of Grapes on thother. NL	on one side a Bunch of Grapes on thother. P.H.O.	on one side a Bunch of Grapes on thother. I.GVNE	on one side. 2 Scutcheons crowned & Sordered vnder it A DVRAND		Character and A Street and and	crownd on thother. I.P.O.	on one side. IROVS	on one side. A Bunch of Grapes. on thother. R.P.O.	A Bunch of Grapes, & vnder it N.O. }	A Horne bordered
S. 30 Royall	M. Larg Horne	M. Rochel Demy	M. French Lumbard	Lumbard fine	French Lumbard	S. Lumbard	Lumpard	M. Durand Demy			S. Larg Demy	Larg Demy	M. Larg Demy	Fine Crowne	Medium

2 2	9	00	•	•	60	•	0	0	0	9	90	9	0
Price ye	%	6	7. 9	. 7. 6	6. 8	0. 7. 3	7. 0	0. 7. 0		9	in	6	. 0
P.	ó	ó	ó	ó	ó	ô	•	ó	ó	ó	ó	ó	ô
How many inches Broad	*	2	*	-tm 60	₹8	∞		- <del>18</del> 8	60	6	2	₹6	*
How many inches Long	138	142	27	27	13	123		<b>‡</b> 21	12}	2	144	144	<b>14</b>
How many Sheetes How many in a Quire inches Long	25	25	7		**	**		52		52	25	2.5	2.5
Mark	on one side. A Bunch of Grapes on thother. G. p. S. crowned	A Bunch of Grapes, and vnder it. MDP.	on one side. A Scutcheon in it a Pale charged wth 3 crosses. The Scutcheon is crowned & supported	on one side. A Scutcheon in it a Pale charged w <sup>th</sup> 3 crosses, the Scutcheon crowned & supported w <sup>th</sup> 2 Lyons. On thother side P.B.	marked as the Pantalon of Rochel	on one side. A Horne bordered on thother. P.C.	A Scutcheon charged wth a Crosse the	2 Dragons. In a round vnder the	a Horne bordered about	A Flower de Luce crowned & bordered \ vnder it G.P.O.	A Flower de Luce crowned & bordered in the Border. V.D.P.	on one side. The armes of France crowned & collored. On thother. D.V.	A Flower de Luce crowned & bor-
Sort	M. Fine Crowne a Rovon	S. Small Demy	M. Amsterdam armes	Pantalon of Rochel	S. 2d Dutch Fooles Cap	M. Fine Horne		Fine Venice	Fine Armes	Cardinalls Armes	S. Cardinalls Armes	M. Crowne	Cardinalls Armes

13‡ 8¥ o.	· 8 8 9 0·	12‡ 8½ 0.	141 94 0.	13 84 0.	13‡ 8§ 0.	124 8 O.	124 8 o.	13 84 0.	r3‡ 9 o.	131 82 0.	124 8 0.	12 8 0.	12 72	132 9 0.		124 84 0.		124 8 0.	12 8 0.	114
		W.	25	25	2.5	25	24	**	ŧ	, 52	25	25	25	24	25	24	24	25	25	24
A Horne bordered about	A Scutcheon in a Fale 3 Crosses the Scutcheon crowned & supported by 2 Lyons	A Scutcheon charge with a Crosse crowned & bordered. in a round vnder GO in another round. B.	on one side. The armes of France crowned & colored on thother DV:	{ on one side The k. of Englandes } armes. On thother. DV.	on one side. A Fooles cap on thother { IGANNE.	2 Pillars wth CH betweene the Pillars	A Horne bordered	A Fooles cap	} EH.	A Scutcheon charged with 3 Cinque foiles, crest & mandes	A Pot on it. E.C.H.	A Pott on it. RBO	A Pott on it I.PR.	A smal Flower de Luce	A Pott. on it. I.LD.	On a Mond ED	A Horne	A Pott	A Pott. on it RBO	PH. a Little Horne
	Pantalon of Rochel			Caen Fooles Cap				Morlaix fooles Cap						Crowne Morlaix		Morlaix paper	Rochel Horne			Crowne Morlaix

		etes	How many	How many	E.	ig.	Price ye
Sort	Mark	in a Quire	inches Long	inches Broad	<b>M</b>	ean	e
S. Morlaix Pott	GR crowned wth a flower de Luce	7.	111	7-	ó	÷	3. 10
M. Ordinary Morlaix	oc.	42	134	6	ó	÷	00
Morlaix paper	P.DH. in 3 roundes crowned	77	13	90	ó	÷	9
S. Larg Morlaix	EH.	24	132	6	0. 3. 5	÷	*
M. Pot Morlaix	{ 3 roundes crowned in the middle round }	7	121	•	9 3. 6	÷	6
Fine Pot sise	3 roundes crowned in the middle round 3	#	<b>†</b> 21	80	ó	÷	o. 3. 4
S. Morlaix Pot sise	no marke at all	42	124	80	ó	ei	6
M. Morlaix paper	Spanish armes crowned	24	411	74	ó	ei	% %

# MELZI'S DATING OF 'PALMERINO DI INGHILTERRA', PART III

By GERALD R. HAYES



H E First and Second Parts of the Italian version of *Palmerin of England* were published in 1553 and 1554 respectively, both being issued from the house of Francesco Portonaris da Trino, in Venice. The translation, attributed to Mambrino Roseo, was made from the

Spanish version. In the following year, 1555, Part I was reissued from the same address. It is very doubtful if there was an edition of Part II of this date; most bibliographies suggest that both parts were reprinted, but until a copy of Part II has been satisfactorily identified, this can only be regarded as a needless assumption. Some authorities mention three-volume editions even at this date, but these are obvious errors.

Melzi <sup>2</sup> mentions later editions of 1559, 1560, 1567, 1584, 1600, and 1609, in each case in three volumes octavo. The third volume is Part III, an original continuation to the romance, the composition of which is also assigned to Mambrino Roseo; it is this volume that in 1602 appeared as the English Part III, the translation being made by Anthony Munday, who had been responsible for all the other volumes of the cycle. Melzi dates the first appearance of this addition in 1558, but his evidence, as will be shown below, appears to be in error; a revised dating may have some bearing on the bibliography of the English versions of Parts I and II. Under

<sup>1</sup> Quadrio; Della Storia e della Ragione d'ogni Poesia; iv. 516.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bibliografia dei Romanzi e Poemi cavallereschi Italiani, 1838.

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the heading of *Palmerino di Inghilterra* (p. 323), Melzi explains his dating of Part III in the following passage:

Del terzo non possiamo segnare nè la data, nè il numero delle carte. Crediamo però che non sia stato impresso prima del 1558, a motivo che nella ristampa di Venezia, Bendolo, 1584, 3 vol. in 8vo. nella quale sono copiate le dediche della suddetta edizione, il terzo libro è dedicato al Duca di Savoia, in data di Venezia, al primo di aprile, 1558.

The British Museum, unfortunately, possesses no edition containing Part III until that of Lucio Spineda, Venice, 1609, and this copy, which is complete and in good state, contains no dedication. No other edition appears to have been available in England, so that, in want of any evidence to the contrary, Melzi's statement was accepted; nor was there any reason for doubting its accuracy. Recently, however, there came into the writer's possession a set of the three parts of Palmerino di Inghilterra, the first of which is the reissue of 1555, while the second and third represent this edition cited by Melzi, of Jacomo Bendolo, Venice, 1584. The dedication to Part III is indeed to 'il Signor Duca di Savoia', but it ends thus:

Di Venetia al primo di Aprile. M D LXXXIIII. Di V. Altezza Humiliss. & obsequentiss. seruitore

So that the value of Melzi's authority for the 1558 date is reduced apparently to zero. No copy of that date has ever been recorded, and with the disappearance of the only evidence, all reason for further consideration of this date vanishes. Whether 1584 can be substituted on the strength of this dedication is a matter less easy to decide. The dedication to the corresponding copy of Part II follows the original edition and ends:

Di Vinegia alli VII. Di Giugno. M. D. LIIII.

Di V. S. Illustriss. Seruitore I. B. The initials (if 'I.B.' here and in the above case represents Bendolo) have been altered to meet the edition, but the date is that of the first edition; the original is signed by Francesco Portonaris. It is hardly likely that an original date would have been preserved in one volume and altered in another, so that there is at all events a strong reason to suppose that this is the first appearance of Part III. The date is, of course, rather later than the period of Mambrino Roseo's prolific outpourings, but the assumption of his responsibility may have rested on nothing more substantial than his reputation; there does not seem anything definite in the work itself to connect it with his name.

Meanwhile there remain to be considered the various threevolume editions of anterior date, mentioned by bibliographers. It is in the hope that this article may catch the eye of some librarians that the writer suggests that the point can only be settled with finality when such sets, if they exist, have been examined. It looks as if the compilers knew that there were three volumes in the complete series, and once the third was dated as early as 1558 they assumed that it was included in all editions after that date. The quality of the information given in the authorities referred to does not give one too much confidence in the existence of a third volume before 1584. Thus Melzi (p. 323) says that there is an edition in 3 vols. 8vo, of which the first is dated 1555, the second 1554, 'noi possediamo soltanto questi due volumi'—and a few lines lower down he gives the above-quoted reasons for believing that the third volume did not appear till three years later. Again, Ferrario (iv. 261) gives this same edition as '1555, three volumes in 8vo', and this volume of Ferrario is, of course, the work of Melzi.

Anthony Munday made his translations from the French version which, like the Italian, represents the Spanish edition, and not Moraes's Portuguese original. Not only is this fact

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announced on the title-page, but it can be proved by internal evidence. For example, it is only by a misunderstanding (possibly oral) of the French that he could arrive at such an extraordinary piece of translation as,

where the Earle ravished Ardesdegno, begotten by Primaleon...
for,

where the eagle carried off Primaleon's dwarf Risdeno. . . .

Not only are both the Earle and Ardesdegno non-existent, but the imputation on Primaleon is a slur on the character of a knight whose worst fault was the possession of what Mr. Polly would have called a 'choleraic' temper.

The French runs thus:

en laquelle l'Aigle rauit Ardisdegno, nai de Primaleon . . .

(the contraction line over 'nain' is omitted in both French editions). Munday elsewhere gives the dwarf's name correctly

as either Risdeno or Arisdeno.

Further, Munday used the later Paris edition of 1574, and not the Lyons folio of 1552-3, for the English version contains the abbreviated list of combatants in chap. xliii of Part II, and this list is given in full in the earlier French edition but not in the reissue. We do not know when Munday's translation of Parts I and II was first published. It must obviously have been after 1574, and we know that it appeared before the first part of Palmerin D'Oliva, published I January 1588. The first actual reference is the entry in the Stationers' Company Register to John Charlewood on 13 February 1580/1. Both the preface and the postscript to Part II promise the Third Part in definite terms, and the latter, at all events, is demonstrably copied from the lost original edition. As there was never any French or Spanish Part III, and as the Portuguese sequel did not appear until 1587, the Italian must be the book intended,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See 'Anthony Munday's Romances of Chivalry', Library, June 1925.

Melzi's Dating of 'Palmerino di Inghilterra', Part III 413

if the reference is genuine at all; but the usual promise of a

sequel occurs at the end of the French Part II.

Should the 1584 dating of Palmerino di Inghilterra, Part III, prove correct, the date of the first edition of the English version of Parts I and II can perhaps be narrowed to within the limits of the latter half of 1584 and the end of 1587.

## GREEK TYPES, OLD AND NEW

By A. W. POLLARD



N succession to the specimens of English twentieth-century fine printing there has now for several weeks been on view in the King's Library at the British Museum a no less interesting exhibition of Greek types as they appear in books from 1465 to the present day.

The exhibition is contained in three large double cases and four smaller single ones, and though only sixty-one books are shown these are so well chosen that they cover the ground

with very few gaps.

The first half case is devoted to Greek types used in quotation: the Mainz Cicero (Paradoxa) of 1465, with its quaint attempt to print ότι μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθόν, the Subiaco Lactantius, the Suetonius of de Lignamine (Rome, 1470), with a large Greek type to range with its clumsy roman (125 mm. to twenty lines), and Wendelin of Speier's 1472 edition of the same book, showing the first Greek type used at Venice. Wendelin had begun using this in a Sallust of the previous year, having previously left spaces in other books for Greek quotations to be supplied by hand, as his brother John had done before him. At the outset he clearly had very little of the type, as in two or three books which followed the Sallust, while some of the Greek quotations are printed, for others there are still spaces left. No doubt the Suetonius is exhibited instead of any of these in order to show a longer specimen. In the same way Jenson's Greek type is shown in a whole page in the Aulus Gellius of 1472, though he also had used a little in at least one book, probably earlier, though of the same year. The two types are very much alike, sharing the same weaknesses in a mean little theta, very pointed nu, and a needlessly wide psi, besides a tall tau and a triangular delta with a curve jutting

out from the apex to the left, neither of which modern eyes readily find attractive; yet both founts come very near to being fine types, and nothing to touch them was produced at Venice. or indeed elsewhere, till we come (No. 14) to an 80-mm. type used by Joannes Rubeus in 1492 which (despite an even meaner theta and some irregularities) is praised on the label as 'perhaps the best small non-cursive fount' used in the early period. The cursive founts begin with the Vicenza Chrysoloras attributed to 1476, but would never have made their way but for the popularity obtained for them by Aldus in his fine folio editions of the close of the fifteenth century and the small octavos of the sixteenth. The types of the folios were quickly imitated by Bissolus and Mangius and by Callierges in his splendid Etymologicum magnum. The one type which should have stood up against them, that of the Greek Testament in the Complutensian Polyglot (c. 1510), is here illustrated by the Musaeus of about the same date. Then the exhibition takes us to the early Paris types and thence to the Estienne editions, so unsurpassably good in their own style that it is small wonder that they were imitated all over Europe.

After the Estiennes and the Greek Testament in the Plantin Polyglot of 1571 come half a dozen English exhibits of which the earliest, Reyner Wolfe's 1543 edition of the two homilies of Chrysostom in a Greek type of Basel origin, has been on exhibition in the King's Library for half a century or more; the others are much less familiar, comprising the first Oxford Greek book (1586), the Eton Chrysostom of 1610-17, the Oxford Greek specimen of 1695, a Greek tract printed at Cambridge in 1619, and the Oxford Greek Testament of 1763 in the type of Baskerville which (despite rather too prominent majuscules) has a quiet grace very unlike Baskerville's work in roman.

Along with these English editions space is found for the Glasgow *Homer* of 1756; then in the penultimate showcase come three Bodoni books, the *Anacreon* of 1784, that of 1791,

ήλθε κινδύνου. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἄνδρας οὖς ὁ Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν ὡς αἰτιωτάτους ὄντας τῆς ἀποστάσεως Κλέωνος γνώμη διέφθειραν οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι (ήσαν δὲ ὀλίγω πλείους χιλίων), καὶ Μυτιληναίων τείχη καθείλον καὶ ναῦς παρέλαβον. ὕστερον δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐκ ἔταξαν Λεσβίοις, κλήρους δὲ ποιήσαντες τῆς γῆς πλὴν τῆς Μηθυμναίων τρισχιλίους τριακοσίους μὲν τοἰς θεοῖς ἱεροὺς ἔξεῖλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους σφῶν αὐτῶν κληρούχους τοὺς λαχόντας ἀπέπεμψαν οῖς ἀργύριον Λέσβιοι ταξάμενοι τοῦ κλήρου ἐκάστου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύο μνᾶς φέρειν αὐτοὶ εἰργάζοντο τὴν γῆν. παρέλαβον δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῆ ἡπείρω πολίσματα οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι ὄσων Μυτιληναῖοι ἐκράτουν, καὶ ὑπήκουον ὕστερον 'Αθηναίων. τὰ μὲν κατὰ Λέσβον οὖτως ἐγένετο.

'Εν λὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει μετὰ τὴν Λέσβου ἄλωσιν 'Αθηναίοι Νικίου τοῦ Νικηράτου στρατηγοῦντος ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Μινώαν τὴν νῆσον, ἢ κεἴται πρὸ Μεγάρων · ἐχρῶντο λὲ αὐτῆ πύργον ἐνοικολομήσαντες οἱ Μεγαρῆς φρουρίω. ἐβούλετο λὲ Νικίας τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτόθεν λι' ἐλάσσονος τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουλόρου καὶ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος εἶναι τούς τε Πελοποννησίους, ὅπως μὴ ποιῶνται ἔκπλους αὐτόθεν λανθάνοντες τριήρων τε, οἶον καὶ τὸ πρὶν γενόμενον, καὶ ληστῶν ἐκπομπαῖς, τοῖς τε Μεγαρεῦσιν ἄμα μηλὲν ἐσπλεῖν. ἑλὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας πρῶτον λύο πύργω προύχοντε μηχαναῖς ἐκ θαλάσσης καὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου ἐλευθερώσας ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, ἤ κατὰ γέφυραν λιὰ τενάγους ἐπιβοήθεια ἢν τῆ νήσω

έλθων Δ' έξαπίνης ἄνεμος σύν λαίλαπι πολλῆ βόθρου τ' έξέστρεψε καὶ έξετάνυσσ' έπὶ γαίη· τοῖον Πάνθου υἱὸν έϋμμελίην Εὔφορβον 'Ατρείλης Μενέλαος ἐπεὶ κτάνε, τεύχε' ἐσύλα.

'ώς λ' ότε τίς τε λέων όρεσίτροφος, άλκι πεποιθώς, βοσκομένης άγέλης βοῦν άρπάση ή τις άρίστη. τῆς Δ' ἐξ αὐχέν' ἔαξε λαβών κρατεροίσιν όλοῦσι πρώτον, ἔπειτα λέ θ' αίμα καὶ ἔγκατα πάντα λαφύσσει ληών άμφι λὲ τόν γε κύνες τ' άνλρες τε νομῆες πολλά μάλ' Ιύζουσιν ἀπόπροθεν οὐλ' ἐθέλουσιν άντίον έλθέμεναι. μάλα γάρ χλωρόν λέος αίρεί. ῶς τῶν οῦ τινι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἐτόλμα άντίον έλθέμεναι Μενελάου κυλαλίμοιο. ένθα κε βεία φέροι κλυτά τεύχεα Πανθοίλαο 'Ατρείλης, εί μή οἱ ἀγάσσατο Φοϊβος 'Απόλλων, ός ρά οι "Εκτορ' ἐπῶρσε θοῷ ἀτάλαντον "Αρηϊ, άνέρι εΙσάμενος, Κικόνων ήγήτορι Μέντη· καί μιν φωνήσας έπεα πτερόεντα προσηύλα. " Έκτορ, νῦν σὰ μὲν ὧλε θέεις ἀκίχητα λιώκων ίππους Αιακίλαο λαίφρονος οι λ' άλεγεινοί άνλράσι γε θνητοίσι λαμήμεναι ήλ' όχέεσθαι, άλλω γ' ή 'Αχιλήϊ, τὸν άθανάτη τέκε μήτηρ. τόφρα λέ τοι Μενέλαος, άρήιος 'Ατρέος υίός, Πατρόκλω περιβάς Τρώων τον άριστον έπεφνε, Πανθοίλην Εύφορβον, ἔπαυσε λὲ θούριλος ἀλκῆς."

"ως είπων ὁ μὲν αὖτις ἔβη θεὸς ἄμ πόνον ἀνλρῶν, Έκτορα λ' αἰνὸν ἄχος πύκασε φρένας ἀμφὶ μελαίνας πάπτηνεν λ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα κατὰ στίχας, αὐτίκα λ' ἔγνω τὸν μὲν ἀπαινύμενον κλυτὰ τεύχεα, τὸν λ' ἐπὶ γαίη κείμενον ἔρρει λ' αἴμα κατ' οὐταμένην ώτειλήν. and the Longus of 1786, of which the second Anacreon takes the palm. Then we are back in England with the Cambridge Euripides of 1826, based on the Greek handwriting of its editor, the great Porson, Pickering's 'Diamond' Homer (1831), the well-known Greek founts at present in use at Oxford and Cambridge, and the Teubner types used in 1850 and 1908. A little book I compiled in 1890, Odes from the Greek dramatists, has the honour of being shown with these, but the Greek type used in it certainly came from Germany. After these we have a Greek Testament in the type which Mr. Selwyn Image designed for Messrs. Macmillan about 1894, the Odyssey in Proctor's magnificent rehandling of the type of the Complutensian Polyglot, another Homer printed in 'Bremer type' at

Munich in 1923, and a Paris Plato of 1920.

The last exhibit shows two pages, one in prose, the other in verse, as a sample of a new fount designed for the Lanston Monotype Corporation by Mr. Victor Scholderer of the British Museum. This is a very pretty outcome of the love of Greek which enabled its designer to win a university prize for Greek verse at Oxford and of his work on incunabula at the British Museum. It goes back for its inspiration to the noncursive fifteenth-century Venetian founts of Wendelin of Speier, Jenson, and (more particularly) of Rubeus, substituting better forms for their theta and nu and improving other letters, though in the mu I am sorry that a straight down-stroke has been substituted for the run up of the older founts. Almost the only old form which has been left to try the patience of modern readers is the triangular delta with the little curve running out to the left from the top. No doubt Mr. Scholderer would be able to devise a good substitute for this, but it gives the type a distinctive character, and my own hopes have been steadily veering in favour of its retention.

By the kindness of the Lanston Monotype Company the

two pages of their specimen are here shown.

### THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

#### ANNUAL REPORT



URING the past year four books have been completed for the Bibliographical Society: Vol. VI of the New Series of Transactions (The Library), an additional Supplement (Dr. M. R. James's Lists of Manuscripts formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library), an Illustrated Mono-

graph (No. 20) on Early Editions of Euclid's Elements, by Mr. Charles Thomas-Stanford, which deals very completely with its subject and may be reckoned among our best specimens of book-building; and lastly (issued in January 1927) the long-promised Short-Title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640, compiled by Mr. Pollard and Mr. Redgrave with the help of eleven other members of the Society and many other workers. The first three of the books named were issued in return for subscriptions paid in 1925; the Short-Title Catalogue is the main publication for 1926. The importance of this last to Students of English Literature and to every one concerned with the period which it covers, whether interested or not in other sections of the work of the Society, made it reasonable that non-members should be allowed to buy copies, and a spontaneous offer from Messrs. Quaritch to take a considerable number at a fair price has enabled it to be produced without any strain on the Society's finances. After having paid the bulk of its share of the cost of production the Society has still on deposit at its Bankers a full thousand pounds available for financing the large Illustrated Monographs in preparation on English Border-pieces, by Dr. McKerrow and Mr. F. S. Ferguson, and on English Plays (to 1640), by Dr. Greg.

Large works, like these and the Short-Title Catalogue, necessarily take several years to bring to completion, and as the books produced by the Society are just now predominantly 'to 1640' the Council will gladly receive offers of finished work on a smaller scale concerned with other periods. It is very important that the Society should be catholic both in its papers and in the books it publishes, but papers and books cannot be produced without competent volunteers, and the Council wishes it to be known that competent volunteers will be welcome.

An Exhibition of Books printed in 1925 and 1926 selected by their publishers under five classes, on the lines of the Society's two exhibitions, of books of 1923 and 1924, at the rooms of the Medici Society, was held from 30 December to II January, in the Mocatta Library, by kind permission of University College (University of London), and with the cordial co-operation of its library staff. As in previous years a catalogue of the books exhibited was printed and sent to all members of the Society. As in previous years also the attendance of visitors was numerically disappointing. But the improvement in the standards of printing and book-production evident in this last exhibition over that of 1925, as in that of 1925 over the exhibition of 1924, has been very marked, and the fact that our Society is taking its share in the movement for better book-building seems to be an encouragement to other workers.

During the past year the Society has had to regret the death of several of its older members, notably Sir Sidney Lee, who for some years was a member of Council, Sir George Holford, the owner of a very fine library, Sir John Rotton, K.C., Mr. Clement K. Shorter, and Mr. James Tregaskis. As for many years past the vacancies caused by deaths and resignations have been numerically more than made good by new elections, so that the Society still continues to increase, and

now numbers over 530 members, all but a few of whom pay

the increased subscription.

The Society's Library continues to grow by gifts. Its development has been hampered by difficulties of housing and the uncertainty as to how far even a considerable expenditure on books would cause it to be more used. There is probably considerable force in the contention that neither our Library nor our Exhibitions will be much visited until they are housed in or near the room in which the Society meets for papers and discussions. For a society which spends over 70 per cent. of its income on its publications this ideal is not easy to attain from its own resources. Meanwhile arrangements have been made for some additional space for books at University College, and if members will write to the Hon.Librarian as to bibliographical books which they want to read it will be an encouragement to procure them.

### BALANCE SHEET

### From 1 January to 31 December 1926.

RECEIPTS.								Expenditure.				
			_			5.	d.		s.	d.		
Balance at								Expenses of Meetings 19	12	4		
1926 (£551									16	9		
on Deposit					1,551	7	2	Printing, Paper, Casing, and				
Entrance Fee					14	14	0	Distribution, less proceeds				
British Subs.,	1925	5			4	4	0	of sales of, and advertise-				
**	1926	5			595	7	0	ments in, The Library 1,355	10	5		
	1927				9	9	0	Rent 23		0		
Foreign Subs.	, 192	6			38	17	0	Editorial Fee, The Library . 52	10	c		
J.S.A. Subs.,	1925				2	2	0		14	IC		
	1926				305	6	10	Expenses of the Society's				
Interest on De	posi	t an	d Inve	st-				Library 2	2	•		
ments .	•				42	16	0	Subscription returned (Mem-				
ale of Publi	catio	ns	to Me	m-				ber deceased) 2	2	c		
bers					77	6	6	Cheque returned from Bank . 2	2	0		
						_	-	Bank Charges o	1	6		
								Balance at Bank, 31 Dec. 1926	-	-		
								(£173 15s. 8d.) + £1,000 on				
								Deposit 1,173	15	8		
				i	2.641	0	-	£2.641	0	-		
				Z		9	9	22,041	y	0		

## R. FARQUHARSON SHARP, Hon. Treasurer.

Examined with vouchers and found correct,

ALEX. NEALE.

8 January 1927.

ASSETS.			LIABILITIES.				
	£	s.	d.		£	5.	d.
£500 21% Consols @ 55 .	275	0	0	Estimated liability for 32 Life			
£100 31% New South Wales				Members	360	0	0
Bond, 1930-1950	72	5	0	Subscriptions received in ad-			
Estimated value of Stock of				vance	9	9	0
Publications	1200	0	0	Estimated cost of completing			
Balance of Account for 1926 .	1173	15	8	Publications	400	0	0

### REVIEWS

Early Tudor Drama: Medwall, the Rastells, Heywood and the More Circle. By A. W. Reed. With nine illustrations. Methuen & Co. pp. xv, 246. Price 10s. 6d.

BOTH as The Library and as the Transactions of the Bibliographical Society this magazine cannot fail to welcome Dr. Reed's book, because in the difficult days during and immediately after the War the papers out of which it is built helped materially to keep both our lines of descent healthily alive until they could be united in 1920. I have always looked back on the November afternoon when Dr. Reed read the paper with a long title, John Rastell, Printer, Lawyer, Venturer, Dramatist, and Controversialist, with which his books opens, as one of the great days in the history of our Society. Like a good President, Sir William Osler had read the article on John Rastell in the D.N.B. and was able to tell less diligent members how much new light Dr. Reed had thrown both on the career and the character of one of the most interesting minor figures in English literature. Simultaneously with his work on Rastell, Dr. Reed was clearing up John Heywood's biography in The Library, and in a later paper before the Society he told the story of the printer of Heywood's plays, John Rastell's son, William, who had a very interesting career. The revised reprint of these papers in the present book starts the reader with the new facts about the two chief playwrights in the earlier years of the reign of Henry VIII, and in his fourth and fifth chapters Dr. Reed is able to present a straightforward story of the 'Beginnings of the English Secular and Romantic Drama'. Dismissing Dr. C. W. Wallace's vain imaginations as to William Cornyshe, the musician, having written the best of the extant plays, Dr. Reed shows the importance of the two interludes of Henry Medwall (the 'impossible Medwall' of Dr. Wallace's romance), and adds considerably to our knowledge of who Medwall was. He is then able to sort out the nine plays as to the authorship of several of which there has been much dispute, assigning the Four Elements, Gentleness and Nobility, and Calisto and Meleboea to Rastell on the evidence of the identity of thought found in them and in his prose works, while Heywood loses Gentleness and Nobility, but keeps Love and Wether and Witty and Witless as his unaided work. and Johan Johan and The Pardoner and the Frere and The Four PP, as a more living and vigorous trio in which, on the evidence of the Mery jest of how a Sergeant would play the Frere, we may guess that Sir Thomas More had a share, if not as his collaborator, as his inspiration. For what this book brings out is that substantially the history of the drama of the first twentyfive years of Henry VIII's reign centres round Sir Thomas More, who had grown up in the household of Medwall's patron, Cardinal Morton, and must be taken to have inspired his son-in-law John Rastell, and Rastell's brother-in-law John Heywood (whom More himself had probably introduced to Henry's court) with his own humour and love of plays. With this connecting thread (with a new one lately picked up by Mr. Moon's ascription of Thersites to Nicholas Udall) we get the development of the Early Tudor Drama straightened out, and Dr. Reed's papers on William Rastell, who printed Heywood's plays, and on the amusing story of the Widow Edyth and its connexion with More's household, are strictly relevant to his subject as illustrating the atmosphere in which our secular drama came to life.

In addition to the revision and rearrangement which Dr. Reed's papers have received in this new issue of them, over a fifth of the book is devoted to documentary and elucidatory appendixes, including the full story, as far as it is known, of Rastell's unlucky attempt to sail to Newfoundland as a venturer in 1517, his stay in Ireland, his law books and prefaces,

&c., More's account of his adventure with the friar in Coventry, the pleadings in the lawsuit as to the dresses used at Rastell's stage in Finsbury Fields, a sorting out of all the John Heywoods, and the story of Prior Goldstone's suit against Henry Medwall. In many fields, notably as to Chaucer and the morality plays, American scholars have of late years been doing better research work than we can point to in this country. Now that Dr. Reed has brought together these papers we can hold up our heads.

A. W. P.

The Libell of Englyshe Polycye: a poem on the use of Sea-power. 1436. Edited by Sir George Warner, D.Litt., F.B.A., late Keeper of Manuscripts and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1926.

The Libell of Englyshe Polycye has long been known to students of English naval history and commerce, and has already been printed three times, by Hakluyt in his Voyages (1598), by Thomas Wright in the Rolls Series of 'Chronicles and Memorials' (1861), and by Wilhelm Hertzberg (Leipzig, 1878) with a metrical German translation and an introduction by Reinhold Pauli. Sir George Warner, however, has produced the first critical text based on all the nine manuscripts extant, and despite his suggestion that if he has failed to do the subject full justice 'the disabilities of advancing age may be pleaded as some excuse' he has done his work so thoroughly that his edition may well be accepted as final. The poem is written not merely in the spirit of Chaucer's Merchant, who 'wolde the see were kept for anything Betwixen Middleburgh and Orewelle', that his goods might cross it in safety, but with a keen sense of the whiphand which this bit of naval supremacy would give England over all the other trading countries of Europe. It is interesting also for the detailed lists which it gives (as far as metre and rhyme permitted) of the goods exported by all these other countries. Metrically it shows

that the chaos which came over English verse in the fifteenth century, from linguistic changes obscuring the model set by Chaucer, had already begun. The bibliographical interest of Sir George Warner's edition lies in his suggestion that the poem may be attributed with some confidence to Adam Moleyns or Molyneux, clerk of the Council in London from 1436 to 1441, when he was promoted to be one of its members. The ground for this suggestion is 'the extent to which he satisfies all the necessary conditions'. This ground of proof is technically weak, resting as it does on simple agreement, but it gains cogency the more it can be shown that the 'necessary conditions' are of such a nature that no other person known to us can have fulfilled them and that the existence of an unknown author is improbable. Sir George makes out a good case for Adam Moleyns, and while his arguments must be weighed by students of history because of the increased authority they give to the writer's statements, they present in themselves a pretty example of bibliographical method.

A. W. P.

Some Account of the Oxford University Press, 1468-1926. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1926. (Printed with the types of Bishop Fell.) pp. 133. Price 5s.

This new edition is printed on paper which gives the pressman a better chance than he had with its predecessor in 1922 and both text and illustrations have benefited by the change. The text has been enlarged to admit descriptions of two important removals, the transference of much of the stock at Oxford to a new storeroom erected on a freehold estate at Jordan Hill, abutting on Wolvercote Cemetery, three miles from Carfax, and the removal of the London premises from Amen Corner to Warwick Square. Both these transferences are the result of a growth, which is summarized in the silent

substitution of 10,000 for the 8,000 of four years previously as the number of publications which the Press has on sale. In the next new edition we shall probably hear more of the use which has been made at head-quarters of the space vacated by the removal of stock to Jordan Hill. I wish I could hope that in the next new edition, on title-page and cover, 1585 would be substituted for 1468 as the date of the beginning of the University Press. It seems undignified for the University to claim for its Press an unreal antiquity, by connecting it with two transitory earlier ventures in printing, and to cap this by sticking to the date 1468 for the first Oxford book, when on the first page of text it has to be admitted that this is 'improbable'. In the next paragraph the presses of 1478-85 and of 1517-19 are first written of as 'these Presses' and then amalgamated into 'this early Press' with a claim that 'there is no doubt' that it 'was really the University Press', on the triple ground

many of the books have the imprint in Alma Universitate Oxoniae or the like, some bear the University Arms, and some are issued with the express privilege of the Chancellor of the University.

The fact that three books, in 1518, were issued with a privilege from the Vice-Chancellor surely suggests that the second press was a private venture, for the University would hardly grant a privilege to its own books. It is in these 'second press' books also that a woodcut of the arms of the University appears, but as the royal arms are also represented it is no more clear from this that Scolar was printer to the University than that he was printer to the King. Finally the phrases in Alma (in celeberrima) Universitate Oxoniae (Oxoniensi) seem purely local, witness the phrasing of the privilege of 1518, 'ne quis in 'septennio hoc insigne opus imprimat vel aliorum ductu im- 'pensis venditet in vniuersitate Oxonie: aut infra precinctum 'eiusdem.' Thus the evidence which is relied on to prove that 'this early Press' was a University Press is not even

convincing as to the press of 1517-19, and the second and third sections have no relevance to the press of 1478-86. As regards this press, moreover, it is to be noted that if 'in alma Vniuersitate Oxon' should be admitted as specifically the imprint of a University Press then the three books of '1468' and 1479 lack this dignity, for in these the imprints read Impressa (impressus) Oxonie (Oxoniis). In 1585 Joseph Barnes, the first Printer to the University, was content to follow in the wake of 'Thomas Thomasius collega meus', and gives Cambridge the priority in the admirable sentence: 'Londinum 'diu in hac arte floruit, & non inuideo: Cantabrigia eandem 'nunc didicit, Oxonia recepit, & certe gaudeo.' I think he was a sportsman, and I greatly wish that my valued friends at the two great University Presses would be content to date themselves, Cambridge from 1583, Oxford from 1585, the years from which they can trace a continuous career, and not hang themselves on to transient private ventures which the Universities no doubt favoured, but for which they cannot be proved A. W. P. to have taken responsibility.

The Fleuron: a journal of typography. Edited by STANLEY MORISON. No. V. Cambridge, The University Press; New York, Garden City, Doubleday, Page & Co. 1926. pp. xiii, 205. Price 21s.

Perhaps by way of celebrating the facts that it has a new publisher and a new editor *The Fleuron* is giving its subscribers a large increase both of letterpress and illustrations. Herr Rodenberg's article on 'The Work of Julius Klingspor', translated by Anna Simons, is illustrated with twenty pages of line illustrations in colour; M. Paul Istel, in describing the illustrations of J. E. Laboureur, has the aid of six hand photogravures and four pages from line blocks; Mr. H. V. Marrot's article on William Bulmer has nine full-page illustrations; Mr. Morison's 'Towards an Ideal Italic' has seventeen, and

M. Paul Beaujon's examination of the sources of the now famous 'Garamond' types has sixteen. In addition to this there are three insets of exceptional interest. These are (1) a four-page Latin essay, De Arte Typographica, written by Mr. W. H. Shewring, Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, set up in the Lutetia type designed by J. van Krimpen and printed by Messrs. Joh. Enschedé at Haarlem; (2) an eight-page tract giving the text of an Agreement between Robert Granjon and Michel Fézanaat (Paris, 1551), set up in linotype Granjon and printed by Mr. G. W. Jones; and (3) the Eloge of Fournier-le-jeune (translated from the Nécrologe des hommes célèbres of 1770), set up in monotype Fournier in sixteen pages printed at the Cambridge University Press.

Passing from enumeration to criticism, it must be noted that all the articles make rather heavy demands on their reader's catholicity and mental energy. To be confronted with the three pages of alphabets of the twenty-nine founts produced by the Klingspor foundry since 1900 is a test of both these qualities. The alphabetical order of the letters never shows a type at its best, and the crudities of the types designed by Eckmann and Behrens in 1900 and 1901, the compression of the 'Liturgisch' of 1906, the height of the ascenders of the Koch Antiqua of 1922, the brutality of Neuland (Rudolf Koch, 1923), and the restlessness of many other types destroy confidence in the judgement of the head of the foundry and make it harder to admire the good points of other founts. But on the next page a very pretty title-page has been set up with Tiemann's Mediaval Kursiv (1912), and the two pages from the Klingspor Kalender of 1923 in Koch's Antiqua (the ascenders in this seem to me to have been shortened) are very attractive. Herr Rodenberg's article on the foundry, while too exuberant, is not uncritical. M. Istel, who writes of J. E. Laboureur as an illustrator, is also exuberant, and despite the cleverness and power of characterization in M. Laboureur's work he fails to console me for its lack of the grace and dignity which seem needed for association with so permanent a document as a book. I am also unconvinced by Mr. H. V. Marrot, who in his regret for 'the remarkable dearth of great names in the history of British typography' would apparently like to add William Bulmer to them. With Mr. Stanley Morison's 'Towards an Ideal Italic' we come to a well-thought-out argument culminating in the suggestion of a new variety, a sloping roman, to take the place of italics, where the use of these makes a page look spotty. It is very doubtful whether authors should be encouraged to rely on the printer to indicate that a stress is to be laid on a word, or to announce that a word is in a foreign language, or for any of the other purposes for which italics are used, so as to spoil the look of a page. But granted that this help is needed the suggestion of a sloped roman is admirable.

In the last paper of the number M. Paul Beaujon reviews the sources of the 'Garamond' types now in use, and demonstrates that the 'caractères de l'Université' owned by the Imprimerie Nationale, which have been reproduced as 'the original Garamond' by modern foundries, though derived from his designs, must be attributed to Jean Jannon (1615). After this follow reviews, the three very interesting 'insets', and sixteen pages of advertisements, the set-out of which makes them as well worth study as the illustrations to the various articles.

A. W. P.

Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke, von Albert Schramm. 8. Die Kölner Drucker. Verlag von Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1924. pp. 28, plates 198, containing 956 facsimiles.

It is strange after turning over the leaves of any volume of this fine series to remember how thankful an English student of German book-illustration felt thirty years ago at finding a facsimile of even a single woodcut in a series not represented in the great English collections. There is a certain danger lest the wealth of facsimiles now available may discourage rather than increase interest in the original editions in which they occur, just as a child, delighted with a handful of shells, may be soon wearied if given them in thousands. But even though Cologne woodcuts are of less interest than those of Augsburg or Ulm, to old students of the subject it is extraordinarily interesting to find all the cuts in the famous Quentell Bibles of 1479 or 1480 reproduced consecutively in sixty plates, so that a general view of them is much easier than in the big Bibles themselves. This set of cuts, which owing to their large size occupies nearly a third of the present volume, is much the most important of the Cologne illustrations. The cuts in the first edition of another famous Cologne book, Rolewinck's Fasciculus Temporum, from the press of Therhoernen, are only of importance because of the wide popularity the Fasciculus attained and the readiness of later publishers to follow the rather poor model set in the ed. pr. There are interesting metal cuts in the Horologium Deuotionis of Bertholdus printed by Ulrich Zell in 1488, and between 1496 and 1500 by Johann Landen, also several good single cuts, notably those in the Cisianus printed by Ludwig von Renchen in 1485, and the fine cut of the Three Kings used in two states by Bungart. But the bulk of the rest of the illustrations in Cologne books, notably those in the Ars Moriendi set and the numerous Aesop cuts, are copied from editions originating elsewhere in Germany, and the eleven excellent cuts to Koelhoff's edition of the Historia septem sapientium Romae (1490) have their source at Antwerp. But even the copied cuts have a technical interest of their own, and readers who have not facsimiles of the originals will be glad of these, while the Quentell Bible cuts are a real joy. So this Cologne volume deserves a welcome along with its predecessors.

Horace Walpole, Hieroglyphic Tales. London: Elkin Mathews, Ltd., 1926. pp. 85 (+3). 250 copies. Price 31s. 6d.

This is a very pretty piece of 'period' printing by the Officina Bodoni, Montagnola, Switzerland, 'with the original 12-point type Cuneo of Giambattista Bodoni,' attaining in its margins, without overstepping, the height of modest luxury. A note at the end, not quite correctly called a Colophon, informs readers that the text follows the first edition of the Tales, of which only six copies were printed by Walpole at his Strawberry Hill Press. In Miss Berry's edition of Walpole's collected works (1798) there were changes and omissions. To this reprint there are added some notes written by the author on his copy of a set of the sheets of the first edition. The Tales are pretty poor stuff, but Walpole would probably have been vastly pleased to see them thus handsomely set forth.

Prints and Books: informal papers. By WILLIAM M. IVINS, jun. Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press. (London: Humphrey Milford), 1926. pp. x, 375. Price 21s. net.

We have here some fifty quite brief papers written by Mr. Ivins because in the course of his work at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art he 'became so enthusiastic about certain things that he wanted other people to be interested in them too'. About a fourth of the papers are on bookish subjects, the rest on prints. Readers who have made their acquaintance in the Museum's Bulletin will be delighted to have renewed access to them within a single pair of boards. New readers may wish for fewer subjects and more about each. Needless to say that Mr. Ivins always writes with knowledge, and his fresh enthusiasm, inspired by having the books and prints with which he concerns himself newly under his eye, mostly we may guess for an exhibition, is always delightful. Of

the papers on illustrated books those dealing with the work of Hans Weiditz and Geofroy Tory are especially good. The significance of Tory, for instance, is put in a nutshell when Mr. Ivins claims for his earliest *Horae* that it 'was the first French book which from beginning to end was a highly conscious and deliberate work of art'. There are many charming illustrations to Mr. Ivins's papers.

A Bibliography of Sir Adolphus William Ward, 1837-1924. By A. T. Bartho-Lomew. With a memoir by T. F. Tout. Cambridge University Press, 1926. pp. xxxiv, 99. Price 7s. 6d.

Mr. Bartholomew's bibliography takes the form of annals of Sir A. W. Ward's complete literary output from 1860, when he wrote a life of Goethe for M'Kenzie's Biographical Dictionary to his death sixty-four years later, including his numerous contributions to the *Manchester Guardian* and *Saturday Review*. The arrangement is full of biographical interest, and we may be content to leave it at that without sighing for an index. Professor Tout's memoir is admirable.

Catalogue of Printed Books in the Library of the Foreign Office, London, printed and published by H.M. Stationery Office. (Adastral House, Kingsway, London.) 1926. Price £3 net. pp. 1,587.

This is a 'dictionary' catalogue, i. e. with subject and author headings arranged in a single alphabet. It is well supplied with cross-references, some of them, notably those under the long heading Great Britain and Ireland, rather extravagantly printed. It deserves high praise for the care taken to indicate the period covered by the historical works recorded. The size of the book, unwieldy as it is, is perhaps a sufficient excuse for the absence of any prefatory matter stating the size of the library or describing how it grew up. A cursory survey has not disclosed any editions of antiquarian interest, and it is impossible to say how far the library is

adequate to its purpose. But the catalogue is an honest attempt to make the available books as useful as possible, and the couple of hundred subscriptions received in response to a circular which set a very sensible precedent, have done good service in helping to get it printed. The printing of the text of titles is unfortunately rather grey.

Books and Reading. By W. E. SIMNETT. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1926. pp. 222. Price 5s. net.

According to its preface 'this little book is not addressed 'to the cognoscenti, but to that great new potential reading 'public which, since the war, has been turning more and more 'to serious literature'. It should certainly help otherwise unguided readers to make good use of local libraries, and gives information by which they may acquire a library of their own mainly of popular reprints costing eighteenpence or two shillings apiece.

Craftsmen All: some readings in praise of making and doing. [Preface signed H. H. P.] Dryad Handicrafts, 42 St. Nicholas Street, Leicester. 1926. pp. xv, 140. 45.

ONLY a few pages of this pleasant anthology have to do with subjects with which *The Library* is specially concerned, for H. H. P. rejoices in basket-making and pottery, in weaving, spinning, and the making of cloth, in building, metal-work, painting, and all country crafts, as well as in writing, printing, and making woodcuts. But his anthology, mainly of prose passages but with a little verse, is exhilarating from its point of view and its enthusiasm and is delightfully illustrated and altogether a very pretty piece of book-building. In the section on 'writing and printing' the longest extract is on 'the cost of books in the Middle Ages' from Cardinal Gasquet's paper on 'Books and Bookmaking in Early Chronicles and Accounts', in vol. xi of our *Transactions* (1906-8).

Saint Joan of Orleans. Scenes from the fifteenth century Mystère du Siège d'Orléans, selected and translated by Joan Evans, B.Litt. The text edited by Paul Studer, D.Litt. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1926. pp. xxxi, 171. Price 7s. 6d.

Miss Evans has printed the text and (facing it) her translation of 2,279 lines of the 13,629 of the Mystère, summarized the rest, and prefixed a useful introduction from which we gather that the text of the first 5,330 lines was written (presumably as a revision) after 1439, and the rest earlier. Four pictures are added from a manuscript of the Vigiles de Charles VII, by Martial d'Auvergne (1484), but the two which show Joan can hardly be said to illustrate the text, and do not adorn it.

Fielding the Novelist: a study in historical criticism. By Frederic T. Blanchard, Professor of English, University of California (Southern Branch). New Haven, Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1926. pp. xiv, 654. Price 30s. net.

Professor Blanchard's detailed review of what successive generations of critics have written about Fielding is as devastating as earlier surveys of critical pronouncements on Chaucer and Shakespeare. The majority of critics are once more convicted of laziness, blindness, inconsistency, cowardice, and insincerity. Nine out of ten seem unable to free themselves from the sequacity which continues to echo our accepted verdict till another takes its place. Professor Blanchard demonstrates this as regards the critics of Fielding in about a hundred and eighty thousand words, but in a final chapter on 'Fielding—Past and Present' kindly provides a summary. He also fills some forty pages with a list of 'the more important publications used in this study', and calls this a bibliography. He promises a more comprehensive one in the future, and if this appears we hope it will be not only larger, but better arranged and where necessary annotated.

The Divining Rod: an experimental and psychological investigation. By Sir William Barrett, F.R.S., and Theodore Besterman. With 12 plates and 62 other illustrations. Methuen & Co. 1926. pp. xxiii, 336.

Mr. Besterman, who was left to finish off this admirable and entertaining book after the death of Sir W. Barrett, with whom he had been collaborating, has added to it another alphabetically arranged bibliography, which is encumbered by the inclusion of numerous books and newspapers which he has merely consulted, for instance, *The Times*. However, the best books on Dowsing are indicated by an asterisk, in many cases exact references to pages are given, and with the aid of an excellent index it can usually be ascertained from Mr. Besterman's text what information the work will yield. For the book which he and the late Sir W. Barrett have produced between them we have nothing, so far as we can judge it, but praise.

#### NOTICE

A case for binding Vol. VII of *The Library* will be sent free of charge, with the June number, to all members of the Society whose subscription has been paid. Members who, before I June, send their copies of the four numbers with a postal order for 2s. 5d. to the Printer to the University, University Press, Oxford, will receive them back, post free, cased. Members who have not sent their copies for casing in previous years, by sending them now can have Vol. VII and one additional volume bound for 4s. 6d., and further volumes sent at the same time for 1s. 9d. each.

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1926-27.

Corrected to 28 February, 1927.

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